

The MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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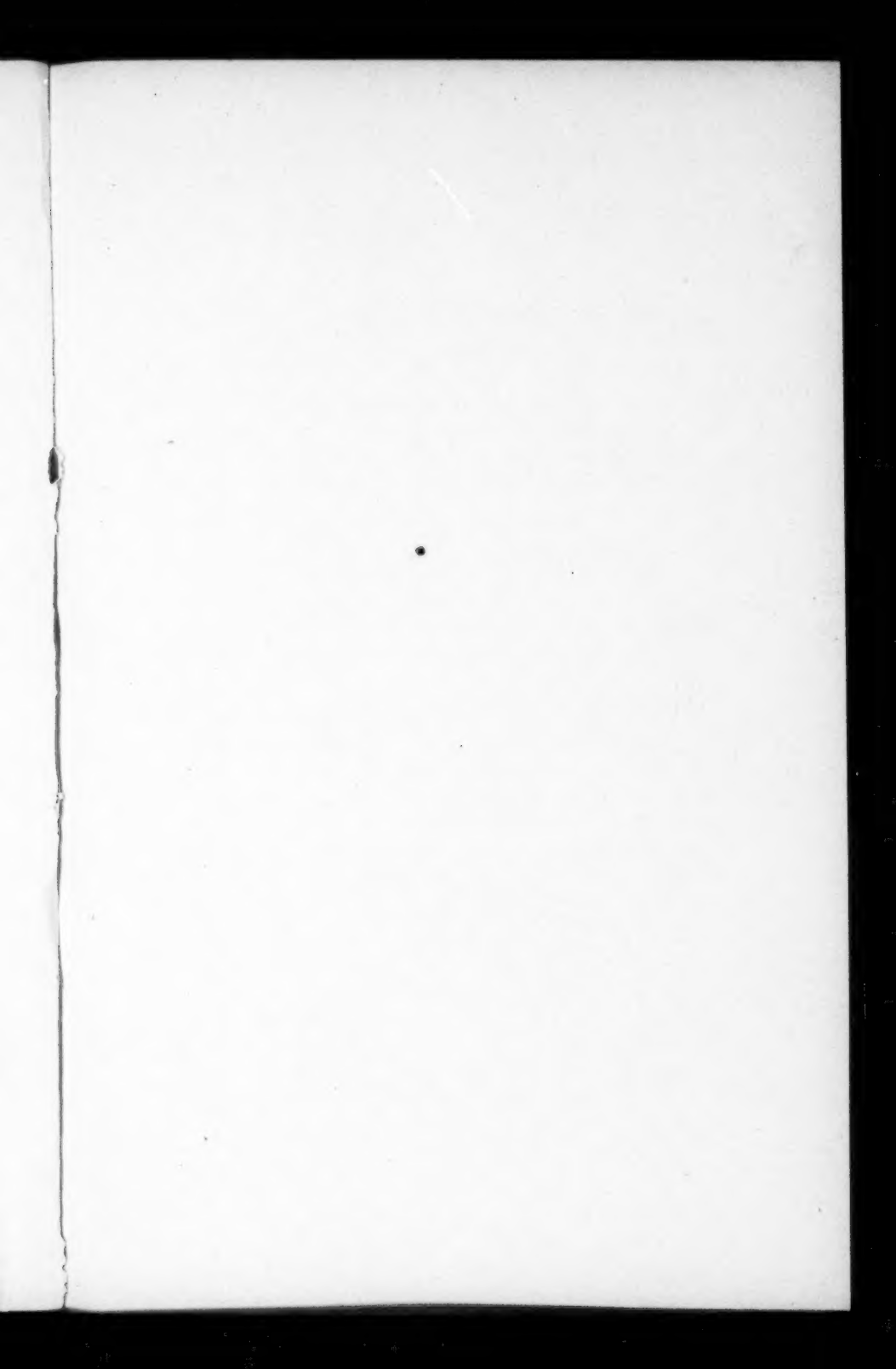
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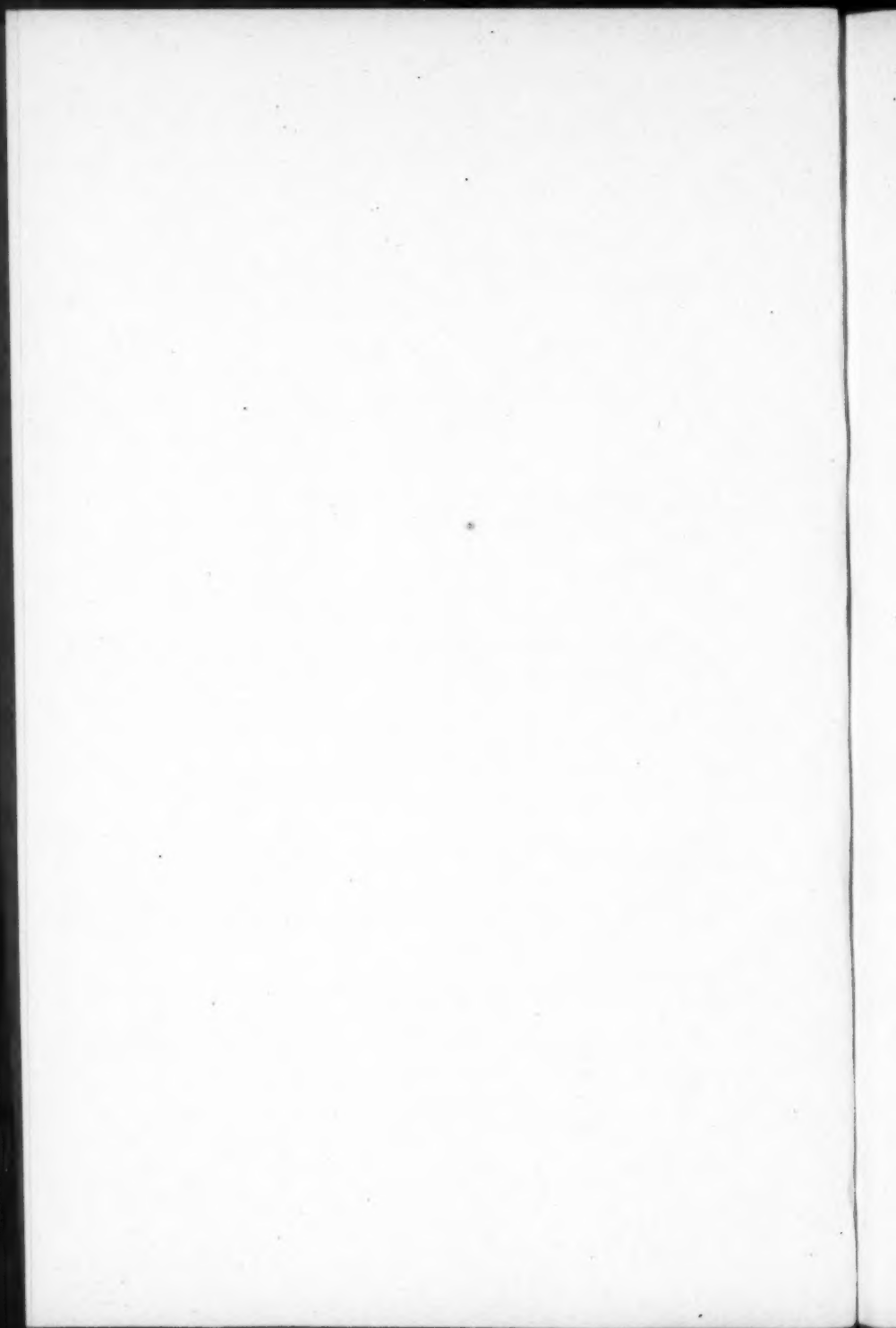
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EARLIEST HISTORY OF MINE LA MOTTE

BY JOHN E. ROTHENSTEINER

During the regency of the Duke de Orleans, for the young King Louis XVI, the brilliant victories of the *roy soleil* of France, Louis XIV, in war and peace, began to show their after-effects in the demoralization of the country's finances and of the general economic and social conditions. Magnificent hopes had been entertained that the New France beyond the sea, founded under the auspices of the great King, would in the course of a few years become not only the home of a second French nation, more powerful and prosperous even than Old France, but also a mighty source of revenue for the depleted treasury of the King. As Spain had grown rich and powerful through the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico, so France must find the everflowing fountain of infinite treasure in the mines in the Mississippi Valley. Rumors of vast wealth to be found in the western wilds stole like the west wind through every nook and corner of France. The dream must be realized or France must perish, for the national debt had grown to such colossal proportions that only the mineral wealth of New France seemed able to meet it. But the government of the colony required large sums every year, and the returns did not equal the expense. As early as February 16, 1701, Father James Gravier wrote to Father Lamberville: "I do not know what the court will decide about the Mississippi if, no silver mines are found, for it does not seek lands to cultivate. They have not yet found the mines they sought, they care little for those of lead, which are very abundant near the Illinois, and higher up on the Mississippi on the Scioux side."¹

Yet the probabilities are that where lead is found silver may be near, so the search was continued and especially directed to those localities that already enjoyed the reputation of being rich

¹*Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV, p. 173.

in lead and copper. It was well known that a network of Indian trails covered the wilderness and that some of these trails led to the neighborhood of mines. These trails, as a rule, followed the river beds, or were strung along the ridges of the hills. So the Indians, who practiced mining on a small scale, could not keep their diggings from the knowledge of the white man. Some of the Indians were even prevailed upon to lead the white man to the national treasure houses of their race. Among the mines of lead thus discovered, Mine La Motte in Madison county, and the Mines of the Meramec³ in Washington county are the earliest and most important in the State of Missouri. It has often been a matter of wonderment that there was so much hearsay and so little authenticated history given in the accounts of these Missouri mines. Writers were not sure whether the Sieur de la Mothe Cadillac,⁴ the first governor of the colony of Louisiana under the regime of the "Royal Company of the Indies," discovered Mine La Motte or only gave it his name, or whether, as Schoolcraft asserted, Mr. Lamotte, a certain mining expert, who came with Renault some time between 1725 and 1740, was the discoverer and patron of Mine La Motte. A Resolution of Congress in 1900 fixes the date of Renault's grant in Madison county at about 1740, which is, of course, a wrong guess. At what period of time Mine La Motte was first worked, nobody seems to know; and whenever guesses are ventured they usually stop short of the reality. Even Houck⁵ with all his conscientious research work maintains silence on a number of important points. There is no reason why the early history of our earliest mine or mines should still be wrapped in a haze of fact and fancy and that it should be so hard to discover what are the solid facts. Now in the first place, Mine La Motte is not the earliest mine of the Valley mentioned by contemporary writers. The mining district around Potosi and Old Mines at the headwaters of the Black

³Meramec, also spelt Maramec, Maramet, and Miaramongoua, is an Algonquin word signifying "a good fish."

⁴The Sieur de la Mothe Cadillac's name is often given as La Motte Cadillac. He was at Detroit before he became governor of Louisiana.

⁵Louis Houck, the distinguished author of the *History of Missouri*, is more at home in the Spanish than in the first French period of Missouri history, but even in this regard his work is invaluable.

river⁵ in Washington county are mentioned by the Jesuit Father James Gravier in his "Journal of a Voyage from the Country of the Illinois to the Mouth of the Mississippi:" "On the 10th day of October, 1700, after proceeding a league we discovered the river Miaramigoua, where the very rich lead mine is situated, twelve or thirteen leagues from its mouth. The ore from this mine yields three-fourths metal." Now this strange name, Miaramigoua, is the original form of Meramec, the south fork of which, called the Black river, comes from the region of the lead mines in Washington county. That these mines were not only known but worked prior to 1700, probably by white, certainly by Indians, follows from the words of Father Gravier already quoted.⁷ Yet, as he gives no details, we have none to offer for this early period. But after the beginning of the Eighteenth Century we have a number of weighty witnesses as to the circumstances of the discovery and development of the mines in Southeast Missouri.

The first prominent white man to set his foot on the soil of what is now called Mine La Motte was the Sieur Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, governor-general of the colony of Louisiana under the Royal Company of the Indies. La Motte Cadillac had done good service in Canada, and distinguished himself by the foundation of Detroit, Michigan. The name is spelled La Mothe and La Motte. He was a scion of a noble family of Southern France, proud and headstrong, and according to Gayarre, somewhat resembling the Spanish Knight of the Rueful Countenance. As the discovery of gold and silver mines was the chief object of his regime, he was easily led on a wild goose chase to the Illinois country by one of the gallant gentlemen of the day, Captain Du Tisne,⁸ who in 1714 brought two specimens of silver ore to Dauphin Island in Mobile

⁵This "Black River" is the first important tributary of the Meramec above its mouth.

⁷*Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV, p. 105.

⁸It is said that the reported wealth of these mines not only in lead but also in silver gave rise to John Law's great Mississippi Scheme.

⁸Charles Claude Du Tisne later on was sent by Bienville on a journey of discovery to the Missouri river. In September, 1719, he arrived among the Padoukaha. Many interesting exploits of this merry gentleman are related by Bossu, *Travels Through Louisiana*.

Bay, which was then the seat of government. Du Tisne is said by good authorities, like Bernard La Harpe, to have convinced the governor that the specimens were found in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia, the chief town of the Illinois country where the Jesuit Fathers had built the finest church to be found in the entire colony, and were peaceably ruling over a prosperous settlement of whites, as well as over an Indian Mission composed of the Kaskaskia tribe and other fragments of the Illinois nation.

According to La Harpe (p. 116) Du Tisne came to Mobile at the end of 1714, and La Motte Cadillac started on his journey up the river at the beginning of 1715. Arriving at Kaskaskia some time during the spring of the year, the governor and his son and probably a company of gentlemen from Kaskaskia had themselves conducted by Tamaroas Indians across the river to the mouth of the Saline creek,⁹ where even at that time there was a small settlement of Frenchmen employed in making salt. The company proceeded up the Saline river on the well-beaten Indian trail and duly arrived at a place where innumerable diggings had been made by the Indians for the purpose of extracting the scattered chunks of lead. La Motte Cadillac set his workmen to dig a trench seven to nine feet deep until the solid rock was reached. The rock showed rich veins of mineral, but proved too hard for their primitive tools. Charlevoix,¹⁰ in his *History of New France*, states that "De La Motte Cadillac had gone up to the Illinois, and on his return to Maubile it was announced that a silver mine had been discovered in the country whence he came." "In October," says La Harpe,¹¹ "M. La Motte Cadillac returned with his son from the Illinois and brought various samples of rock." We have documentary evidence that Mine La Motte was not merely named

⁹The Saline creek empties into the Mississippi about ten miles below Ste. Genevieve. The salt-spring here was visited by Penicaut in 1700, who found an encampment of Frenchmen engaged in making salt on an island opposite to the mouth of Saline. The valley of the Saline was the usual approach to the mining country at the headwaters of the St. Francois River. Penicaut, *apud* Margry, Vol. V, p. 407. Cf. Houck, *Hist. of Mo.*, Vol. I, p. 230.

¹⁰*History of New France* by Charlevoix. Chapter III, p. 434.

¹¹*Journal of La Harpe*, p. 116.

so in La Motte Cadillac's honor, but was really visited by him in 1715, and accordingly considered his property by right of discovery.

Concerning this mine, Diron D'Artaguiette, writing in his Journal under date of April, 1723, at Fort Chartres, states: "From this salt-spring, on the left side of the Mississippi, going west fourteen leagues back, is the region of the Mines which M. de la Motte Cadillac, formerly commandant of the country, had opened up about the year 1715. Two leagues to the west of the Mine is a river called the St. Francois River. It is very beautiful. They claim that it is the same St. Francois River which has its mouth twenty leagues above the Arkansas."¹²

This testimony would seem to clinch the argument in favor of the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac's historical claim to Mine la Motte, and in disproof of Schoolcraft's imaginary mining engineer of Renault's Expedition to the Missouri mines. D'Artaguiette's conjecture as to the St. Francois river was correct. Not long afterwards the Sieur La Renaudiere explored this river up to its source near Mine La Motte, as he states in his "Account of the Mines of M. de La Motte and M. Maramet, August 23, 1723." Governor La Motte Cadillac was recalled March 9, 1717, to be succeeded by Bienville, the founder of New Orleans. With Bienville's reassumption of power, for he had been governor before, a new life seems to have come into the colony.

Pierre Duque de Boisbriant, a nephew of the governor, was sent to Kaskaskia as the King's Lieutenant, and the Sieur Marc Antoine de la Loire des Ursins accompanied him as Intendant for the "Royal Company of the Indies." The two gentlemen began to issue grants of land to *bona fide* settlers on both sides of the river. The first grant made to any private individual by Boisbriant and Des Ursins was dated 1722 and related to a strip of land between

¹²Journal of Diron D'Artaguiette, 1722 and 1723, in Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies, 1690-1783*.

the Mitchigamia¹⁸ and the Mississippi rivers. The grantee was Charles Danie. In the following year a number of important grants were made to large tracts of land on the Missouri side.

But let us see what happened at Mine La Motte in the meantime. There are two documents in the National Archives of France for the Colonies, at Paris, which throw some light upon this matter. The first one is dated Kaskaskia, July 10, 1719, and entitled "Relation of the Journey to the Mines of the Illinois (Country) by des Ursins;" and the second document is dated August 23, 1723, and bears the title "Memoirs of the Mines of M. De la Mothe and M. de Maramet." The original documents are, of course, in French. We shall give them in as literal a translation as possible without changing the sense. Both of them are official reports written without any effort at elegance, yet they give a perfect picture of the mining country more than two hundred years ago. The writer of the first Report, 1719, was the Intendant or civil governor of the Illinois country acting with Boisbriant, the Lieutenant of the King. He had with him the Sieur de Lochon, a gentleman "skilled in mineralogy;" and two other gentlemen from Kaskaskia with five of their slaves; an officer with six soldiers; two salt-makers; five savages, two of them being the very Tamaroas Indians who had conducted the son of M. de la Motte to the Mines. The sergeant also had visited the place with M. de la Motte Cadillac in 1715.

Since this report illustrates one of the earliest ventures of Europeans on Missouri soil, and as we have never seen it in print, we will give it entire as translated into French by Msgr. F. G. Holweck. The French copy will be deposited in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

¹⁸The Mitchigamia River was probably an earlier name of what was afterwards called the Kaskaskia or Kaw. In Marquette's days the Mitchigamia Indians were living along the Arkansas river, but about the beginning of the Eighteenth Century they started northward to join the Tamaroas. It is probable that they crossed the Mississippi before they reached the Tamaroas and settled in the neighborhood of the future Mission of Kaskaskia, before the arrival of the Kaskaskians from their temporary settlement on the Riviere des Peres.

1719, July the 10th, Kaskaskia.

Relation of the journey to the mines of the Illinois by Des Ursins.

DETAIL OF THE JOURNEY TO THE MINES

On June 6th 1719 we started from the establishment of Kaskaskia. We crossed the Mississippi and spent the night one fourth of a league below Saline River.

Wednesday the 7th we made two leagues to the south and three leagues southwest. Thursday the 8th we made half a league to the north, three fourths of a league southwest and four leagues south-southwest and southwest indifferently. On the 8th we marched one league and a half southwest.

To go to these mines we had to cross the little river of the Saline 20 times. When the Mississippi is low, the water reaches up to the horse's belly; at high water one could, to reach the mines, go up the river by boat for five leagues. It is easy to construct mills here, such and as many as you would wish. The country is very fine to establish a settlement and the land is as good as might be desired.

On the 10th we made the workmen dig into the shaft which Mr. De la Mothe had made. It was only four feet deep; the rock was still untouched. We had with us the same savages who led there De la Mothe's son, with Mr. Bourdon and a sergeant from the company of Diron D'Artaguiette who had also been there.

There is a small layer of lead four feet below the surface of the ground which is yellow, intermingled with black, green, gray and reddish; below it is a very hard rock, mixed with grains of lead, six inches thick; deeper down is another layer, three to four inches thick.

Under this rock is another which is mixed with lead, seven inches thick; it has black and green streaks; lower down we have found a layer of lead which, in the strongest part of the vein, is five inches thick. It runs from southeast to northwest and is mixed with yellow earth. Below this is a very heavy rock, which it has been impossible to pierce, because everywhere we met with veins and streams of water which we can stop only when we have the machinery required.—Hardly had we gone down nine feet and a half, when the difficulty to penetrate forced us to dig another shaft to the southwest from the first one; there is a little creek which flows between the two shafts.

The first three feet of ground which we removed are strongly mixed with lead; the earth is very black and heavy; then we found two feet of yellow earth also mixed with lead; then we found a layer of strong rock, hard and mixed with lead; deeper down we met with a layer of ground, black and yellow, mixed with pieces of lead; it was eight inches thick;

then again we found a hard rock which we could not pierce and which ruined most of our tools; the water enters also into this one. The shaft of Mr. De La Mothe and ours are near each other.

On the 11th, Sunday! we commenced a shaft which is larger than the two preceding ones, 200 feet west of the last one, below a small elevation at the border of a little prairie; the earth to a depth of six feet is mixed with lead; it is black and heavy, mixed with yellow earth. We also found pieces of lead ore and silver ore, which we have tested right here.

On the 12th we worked on this shaft.

On the 13th, at a depth of seven and a half feet we found a layer of lead which at its narrowest was 8 inches wide. Also this vein runs from northeast to southwest. We then found a rock mixed with grains of lead; we broke it to the depth of two feet, without having been able to penetrate further, all the mining implements which we brought along having been ruined; the water comes in also there. It might be turned off by a ditch which could be run to the creek which flows along these mines and which seems to have enough fall, if the connection is made lower down. To do this we would need pumps.—In the center of this last shaft we found a very good vein similar to the one of which we have taken the samples, which we have tested and of which I send you samples sufficient to let you judge of its value yourself. We have cut this last shaft to a depth of ten feet.

You find similar mines everywhere, so to say, on the surface of the earth. The savages have made an infinite number of holes from which they drew lead in this neighborhood where there is such an abundance of similar mines.—I believe, it would be better to dig two leagues from the Mississippi. The way to the mines is well beaten; there are many mountains which all seem to be full of ore to judge from their resemblance to those which we have visited. On our return trip we would have searched them if we had had any utensils.

On the 14th we have finished our labor.

On the 15th about noon we started and we arrived at this village on the 17th at noon. We had with us Mr. Delisle, Officer, Mr. Lochon, Messrs. Bourdon and Texier with five of their slaves, six soldiers, one sergeant, two salt-makers, five savages, three of them Tamaroas, two of which had conducted the son of Mr. De la Mothe, and four horses. You can imagine that the soldiers do not work at the mines, wherefore the sooner we shall get negroes the better it will be. The Frenchmen are unfit for this kind of work, and if they want to work their wages will, in proportion be much higher than the profit from the mines will permit.

I sent to Mr. Bienville the samples which Mr. Lochon selected here: 20 gros of ore and one gros, 21 grains of silver; much of it was lost, the crevets and skillets having melted several times in the fire so we were obliged to gather from the cinders what could be recovered. All the melting pots had been left at New Orleans.

Barrel No. 1 is from the shaft of Mr. De la Mothe.

Barrel No. 2 from the last large shaft.

A little barrel of what we have melted here and of which I send you a sample; it is from our last great shaft.

I have the honor to be respectfully,
Gentlemen,

Your very humble and very obedient servant
Des Ursins.

Kaskaskias, July 10th 1719."

This expedition was made in July, 1719. Then there followed a number of expeditions to other places on both sides of the Mississippi. But Mine La Motte was not forgotten. Our second document was written by the Sieur de la Renaudiere on August 23, 1723, shortly before his departure with de Bourgmont on the successful expedition to build a fort on the Missouri, and to make treaties with the Indian tribes along that great river. Renaudiere later on engaged in lead-mining on the Meramec, one of his places being called by the name "Cabanage de Renaudiere." He himself had the title "ingenieur pour les mines." Charlevoix says of him: "Neither he nor any of his company understood the construction of furnaces," which would explain their poor success.

Now let us hear what la Renaudiere himself has to say about the Missouri mine:

Mr. la Renaudiere
August 23, 1723

Louisiana. Account of the mines of M. de la Motte, and M. Maramet, with the results which I have been able to reach from evidence which I have gathered from them. It is about fourteen leagues from Kaskaskia to the mines of M. de la Motte. In order to reach them one must cross the Mississippi to the Saline, and the lead mines run a half league east to west and are about five or six paces in width. In some places the mineral is only one foot below the surface, as one begins to dig, going down to the rock, where pieces of lead weighing from 20 to 30 oz. may be found. The distance from the rock to the surface varies from seven to eight feet according to the spot that is opened. We have penetrated this rock about seven feet; the lead is disseminated in it. I worked it and found a little silver. In going further into the rock, it changes color. We found a quantity of stones of verdigris, which is a sure indication of the presence of copper, mingled with veins of lead one half a foot in thickness, by twenty feet in

width. In certain places the mineral has been burnt by the fire from the center of the earth and is not worth melting. In locations where the veins are well-formed, the mineral is found to be good, and produces as much as from 40 to 45 per cent. One can extract, melt and refine about 10,000 lbs. per month, by the work of eight workmen, working steadily. It can be delivered to the Illinois country, fourteen leagues distant, four by water and the rest by land.

This portage can be avoided by forming a settlement at the mines. In this way the lead might be shipped on a small river which passes the mine at a distance of one fourth of a league, and falls into the Mississippi, reaching within twenty leagues of the Arkansas.

This river is navigable during the rainy season, and it takes only eight days to go in pirogues from the mine to the Arkansas. I have followed the bank of this river which is navigable for twenty leagues. From five to six thousand lbs. of lead may be carried in a pirogue. By this route, the distance from New Orleans to this mine is about the same as that to the Illinois country. This river is called the St. Francois. In the neighborhood of these mines there are small prairies about one half league in length by a quarter league in width. Innumerable creeks and streams flow into the St. Francois river. These prairies serve as retreats to numerous horned cattle (buffalo), bears, deer, tigers (wild cats), skunk, and other animals. There are many fruit trees, such as pawpaws, persimmons, plums, and beam-trees, nuts, pecans, grapes; these fruits and others furnish nourishment to the Indians. When they go to make lead, they carry with them only their weapons and ammunition. Two leagues from the lead-mines on the Illinois road, there is a great mountain, where there are silver-mines. Their wealth cannot be estimated, as they have not been opened. I dug in one spot, about one and one-half feet down. I made a little test and found a small amount of silver. On the other side of the St. Francois river a large number of mountains may be seen the color of whose stone gives strong indications of mineral wealth.

The distance between the mines of Mr. de la Motte and those of de Maramet, is about fourteen leagues. They abound in woods, mountains, small prairies, creeks and small rivers; these last mines are very rich in lead. They produce as much as 80 per cent; the mines have the same exposure to the wind as those owned by M. de la Motte, which are from East to West. I cannot tell exactly the size of the veins; there are some small ones which are in sort of grooves, from which you would, in one day, procure two thousand of mineral from a hole from four to five feet deep by fifteen in length; six men can operate three shafts, two at each shaft. In order to procure much mineral from these openings, they are like trenches, one must follow the veins which are found on the rock, which are about one foot thick, some are less; quantities of lead mineral, in stones which are not attached to the rock, are also to be found, the stones are to be found in the earth. I dug into three small mountains in the neighborhood of these mines, and found much lead in several places.

The distance from the Illinois to the mines of Maramet is about thirty leagues by land, and from sixty to 70 by water, fifteen of which ascend the Mississippi and about 55 leagues in the River of Maramet, from its mouth to the mines. This is very fine hunting country, it would be a good place for settlements; there are rivers in which fish abound, also turtles, and a large number of water fowls.

In the neighborhood there are many mountains of no mean height; the stones which detach themselves from these mountains and fall below are mineral bearing; the waters flowing from them are acrid. There is no doubt that if these were excavated and dug into, very good mines would be found. If a settlement could be formed here upon which 30 negroes could be placed under the management of capable persons, a good living could easily be made in many ways, and approximately three hundred millions of lead per year.

There is, moreover, a quantity of salt rock all along the River of Maramet. I have seen several places where the water would be very good for making salt. Sixteen leagues along this river, there is another which comes from the West and is a little larger than the one followed to reach the mines of Maramet. There are also mines here; I found one of lead eight miles from the other river, a quarter of a mile from the water. It is a country in which there are likewise prairies and mountains; the wild Indigo is plentiful here as well as other herbs which were gathered by the Indians who were with me; they use them for making dyes and medicines; I noted several; among others, there was one most potent one against the bite of the rattle-snake, with which the Indians always provide themselves before starting out on a hunt or a voyage; there is also a root which produces a most perfect and beautiful red.

I shall renew my observations on my next trip and shall try to make some new discoveries.

At New Orleans this 23 of August 1723.

Renaudiere adds some interesting details to Des Ursins' description of Mine La Motte, and introduces us to the new field of operations around the headwaters of the first fork of the Meramec river, sometimes called the Negro Fork, or the Black river. But the mining operations in both districts were carried on in a rather primitive way until the advent of Philip Renault and his company of two hundred artisans and workmen from France and five hundred negro slaves from San Domingo. As Louis Houck says:²⁴ "On the 14th day of June, 1723, Pierre Duque de Boisbriant and Marc Antoine de La Loire des Ursins, Intendant, granted to Philip Francois Renault 'a league and a half of ground in front upon the little "Maramieg," and in the river

²⁴*History of Missouri* by Houck. Vol. I, p. 281.

"Maramieg" at the place of the first fork, which leads to the cabins called the "Cabanage de Renaudiere," with a depth of six leagues, the river making the middle of the point of compass, and the small stream being perpendicular as far as the place where the Sieur Renault has his furances and thence straight to the place called the "Great Mine".⁹ From this rather intricate passage we can conclude that Renault first occupied and improved the land and then asked for a grant and received it. The Meramec Mines in Washington county were, therefore, in operation prior to 1723.

On May 27, 1723, the Journal of Diron D'Artaguiette, written at Fort Chartres, has this item: "Day of the Feast of Our Lord (Corpus Christi). The procession of the Blessed Sacrament was made, the troops under arms lining the streets. The same day about one o'clock in the afternoon M. Renault, director of mines, arrived here from the Maramek Mines where he went a month and a half ago to join the thirty or so Frenchmen who were working at getting out the ore. Sieur Renault keeps at these mines, not without great expense, all Frenchmen, who have been there for more than six months. There are perhaps about six thousand pounds weight of lead melted down. These mines are situated to the northwest from Fort de Chartres, or ten leagues above. One enters the Little River de Maramek, which is dry for three-fourths of the year. After having navigated for about sixty leagues through very strong rapids, one lands and goes about five leagues inland. At this place is the mine where Sieur de Renault works. He has brought along some of the ore for the purpose of making some assays of it in our presence, to send by us to His Royal Highness, my Lord the Duke of Orleans."¹⁰ "And again," writes Houck, "in the same order, Renault also is granted 'two leagues of ground at the Mine called Mine de M. La Mothe, the front looking toward the northeast, the prairie of the said mine making the middle point of the two leagues'."¹¹ This is the original title-deed to the great Mine La Motte estate in Madison county. Like the Meramec grant it also was issued by Bois-

⁹*Travels in the American Colonies, 1600-1783*, by Mereness, p. 77.

¹⁰*History of Missouri* by Houck, Vol. I, p. 281.

briant and Des Ursins on the 14th day of June, 1723. There can be no doubt that even before that date Renault's men began to work the shafts made by La Motte Cadillac, and by Des Ursins, and also opened other shafts in the neighborhood; and that they continued to operate the mines on their own account after Renault returned to France in 1742. As Houck says, "it is probable that when Renault left for France, the most active and enterprising miners took possession of the mine, and that this possession may have ripened in the course of years into title."¹⁷

A petition made in March, 1802, to the Spanish Intendant in New Orleans by Jean B. Pratte, Jean B. St. Jemme Beauvais, Jean B. Valle and Francois Valle, to have their claim to the Mine La Motte property confirmed to them, the statement is made "that all the titles to the said several tracts lapsed in the year 1790," which would prove that no representatives of any of the owners or grantees of the mines had taken the trouble to work them for fifty years. Indeed, the Jesuit Father Vivier complains in 1750: "There are Mines without number, but as no one is in position to incur the expense necessary for opening and working them, they remain in their original condition. Certain individuals content themselves with obtaining lead from some of these because it almost lies on the surface of the ground. They supply this country, all the savage nations of the Missouri and the Mississippi, and several parts of Canada."¹⁸ Yet, even this complaint rather proves than disproves that Mine La Motte was worked continuously from Renault's days all through the Spanish Regime and the Louisiana Purchase. There was a brief intermission of mining in Mine La Motte during 1774 and 1775 on account of an Indian outbreak. "On April 7, 1774, at Mine La Motte," as Houck tells us, "seven persons engaged in mining were killed by the Osage Indians Joseph Valle, a son of Don Francisco Valle, aged twenty-one years, was among those killed. The others were Jacques Parent, Auguste Chatal, and Menard, all Canadians, Dupont, a native of

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁸*Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV, p. 105.

France, an Englishman named Phillips, and a negro named Calise. From the Church Records of Ste. Genevieve it appears that these victims of Indian warfare were reinterred in 1778 in the Catholic cemetery there."¹⁰

As Schoolcraft informs us in 1818, "Mine La Motte and Mine a Breton were the principal mines wrought during Spanish times."¹¹ We can, therefore, easily understand Don Francesco Cruzat's complaint on December 10, 1775: "Since the Cheraqui Indians compelled the miners at Mine La Motte, located fifteen leagues from Ste. Genevieve, to abandon it, only a small amount of lead has been taken from other small mines."¹² All indications, therefore, tend to show that mining operations continued at Mine La Motte from the days of Renault until the present day with more or less energy and but one brief intermission. The name and fame of Mine La Motte occupies a large part of the earliest history of Missouri. Long before St. Louis was thought of, even before Ste. Genevieve was founded on the bank of the river, Mine La Motte was known for its natural beauty and for its mineral wealth, and actually colonized by hardy miners from beyond the great river. For all practical purposes it was a dependency, a field of productive labor and a welcome hunting-ground for the French people of the Illinois. In some ways it was to them the mysterious west, full of hidden treasures, and of sudden dangers. Yet, many of their own number had been up the Saline, the Meramec, and the Missouri rivers. And many of their own people were even then scattered far and wide in the wilderness on the Missouri side. The records of their deeds and adventures may still lie buried in the French National Archives, many may never have been committed to writing. As Floyd C. Shoemaker says: "From the beginning of the Eighteenth Century the French had explored Missouri and her great river; had traded with the Indians; had mined lead; and perhaps made salt. In fact, it is not improbable, though not authentic, that a permanent settlement was

¹⁰*History of Missouri* by Houck, Vol. I, p. 378.

¹¹Schoolcraft, *A Journey to the Mines of Missouri, 1818*.

¹²Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*. Vol. 1, p. 100.

made in Missouri in 1719 at the present town of Old Mine in St. Francois (Washington) county."²² It need not surprise us that earlier settlements were not made. For one was made at the very opening of the Century on the northern bank of the River des Peres hard by the Mississippi's border, in 1700, and we may add that at the time Bourgmont built Fort Orleans at the junction of the Grand and Missouri rivers, there rose a settlement of French miners near the head waters of the Saline called Mine La Motte.

²²F. C. Shoemaker, "Six Periods of Missouri History," *Missouri Hist. Review*, Vol. IX, p. 225.

Our sincere and deep thanks are due to M^{rs}. F. G. Holweck, the Librarian of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, and Mrs. N. Beauregard, the Archivist of the Missouri Historical Society, for the valuable English renderings of French documents, and to Miss Stella Drumm, the Librarian of the Society, for the varied information from the priceless stores of the Jefferson Memorial Library.

HERCULANEUM SHOT TOWER

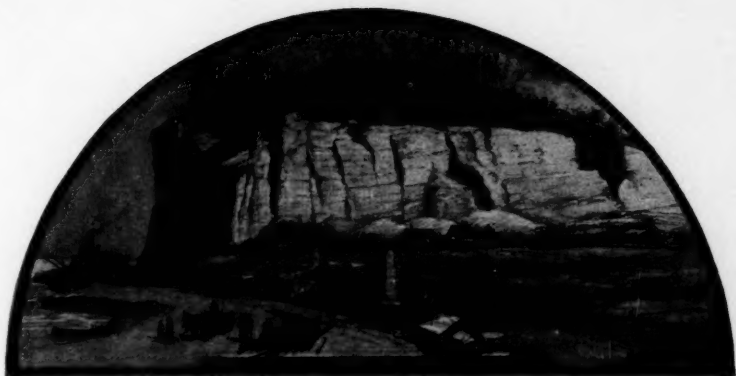
BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER

The wave of state pride and public service which has swept over Missouri the last decade is unparalleled in her history. It has raised the standards of education. It has brought forth a new era in road building and promises to give re-birth to water transportation. It has erected monuments and memorials in city and village. It has laid foundation for a state-wide park system, and artistic exploitation of scenery and tradition. It has preserved historic sites and given editor and reader a state historic consciousness. A heterogeneous population is somehow becoming unified for the first time since the '40's. The state and the individual are again joining hands to promote the commonwealth.

An appreciation of this Missouri renaissance must have supported Mrs. W. R. Painter, state chairman of Historic Sites of the United States Daughters of 1812, when she requested of the St. Joseph Lead Company the donation of the old shot tower at Herculanum. Equal appreciation of state pride and public service must have been felt by Mr. Clinton H. Crane, president of the St. Joseph Lead Company, and his board of directors when in October, 1925, they donated this priceless historic gift of Missouri's pioneer days. The abstraction that corporations are soulless was negated by this act.

The donors knew the value of their gift, for there is nothing within Missouri, even within the Mississippi Valley, more worthy of preservation than the old shot tower at Herculanum. It was a gift worthy of the patriotism and generosity of the donors. It was a heritage worthy of its founders and last owners.

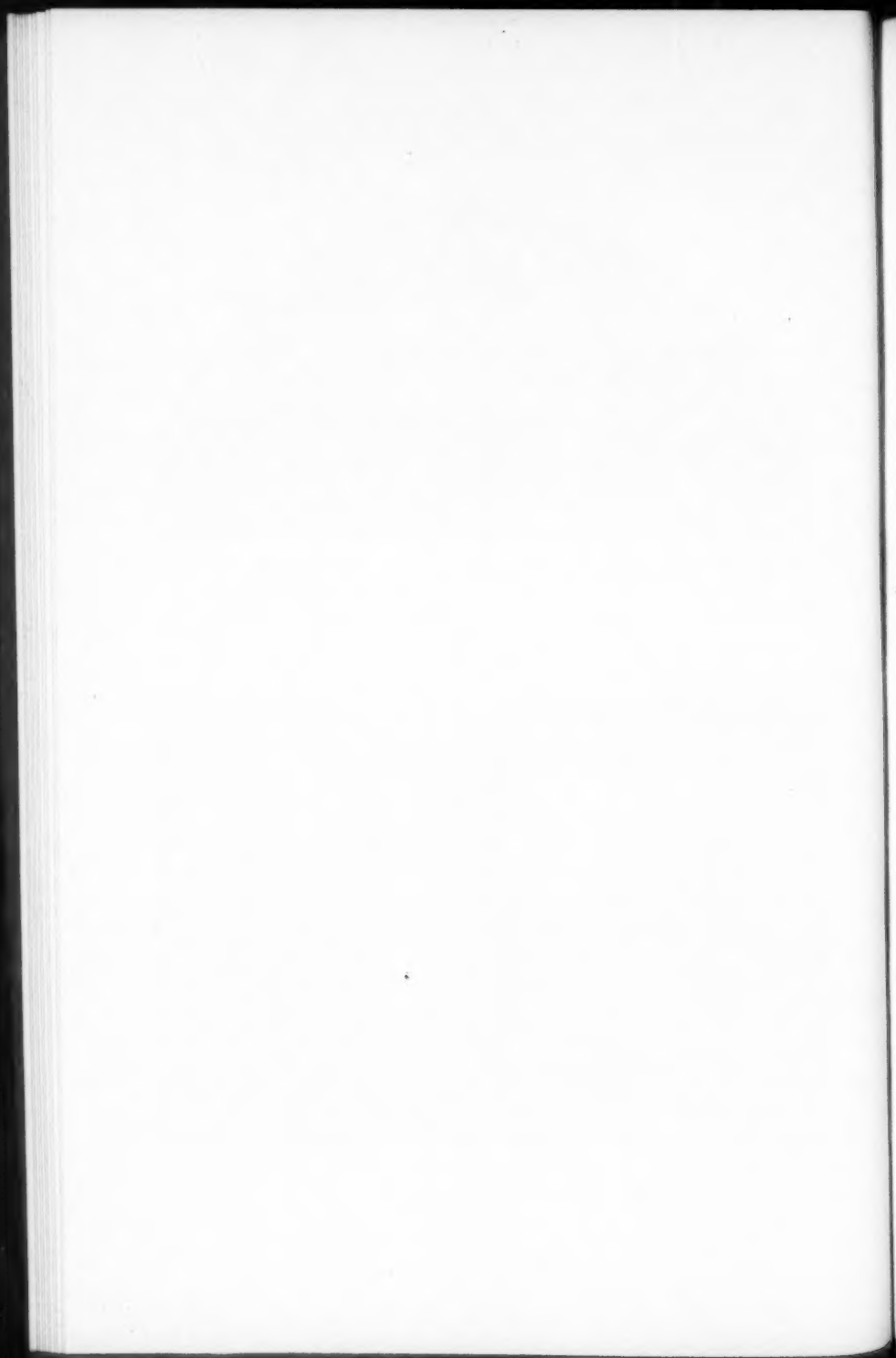
Dr. Walter B. Stevens, the dean of Missouri historians, devoted considerable study to the old shot tower at Herculanum. He found romance and utility linked in its history of over a century. In his "Missourians One Hundred Years Ago" he says:



Painting of Herculeum Shot Tower by Oscar Berninghaus, in the Missouri State Capitol



Bronze Tablet presented by St. Joseph Lead Company



"In November, 1809, this notice appeared in the *Gazette*, informing the Missouri public of the inauguration of a new industry:

" 'John N. Maclot having completed the erection of his Shot Tower at Herculaneeum,—the first in the West,—gives notice to his friends and public that he will manufacture lead into drop-shot on reasonable terms.'

"More than half a century after this announcement, the scaffolding of the tower still projected over the edge of the limestone cliff. Travelers on the boats approaching or leaving St. Louis were told the story of this early enterprise.

"John Nicholas Maclot was from Metz. He was in Paris just before the French Revolution. Suspected of Republican sentiments, he suffered imprisonment in the Bastille. When released he came to this country. After some mercantile experience in Philadelphia, he came to St. Louis with a stock of goods the year of American occupation. The opportunity to make shot appealed to his inventive mind and he went down to Herculaneeum, a new settlement which Moses Austin, the Connecticut pioneer, was establishing. Austin was working the lead mines at Potosi. He proposed to make Herculaneeum on the river the shipping point for the mines. Just below the town was a very high and overhanging cliff. To Maclot the conditions suggested an ideal location for a shot-tower provided by nature. About all that was needed was to build on the edge of the cliff the place to melt and drop the lead with the proper receptacle at the base of the cliff.

"This was the first shot-making establishment west of Pittsburg. Maclot continued his manufacture some years. He dropped from the Herculaneeum cliff the lead which made buckshot and bullets for the American armies in the War of 1812. When the Battle of New Orleans was fought Mr. Maclot was there. He got off a letter to Mr. Cabanne in St. Louis. This was what he wrote:

" 'The enemy have re-embarked leaving their wounded and prisoners. They landed 9,966 men. After the action, 1,906 were missing in the next morning's report. They acknowledged

a loss in the various engagements of over 3,600. Their total loss may be put down at 4,000.'

"Mr. Cabanne carried the letter to Colonel Charless. The *Gazette* came out with the glorious news. That night St. Louis illuminated. At least one candle burned in every window of the town 'in honor of the brilliant success of the American arms at New Orleans,' as Colonel Charless put it.

"Maclot was the son of John Maclot de Coligny. He came of good family in Loraine. He rendered the country of his adoption great service. Like several other pioneers of St. Louis, he did not have the fortune to hand down his family name, although he left descendants. He married a daughter of Charles Gratiot, Marie Therese, named in honor of her grandmother, Madame Chouteau. Two daughters of Maclot became the wives of Henry A. Thomson of the United States Army, and Pierre A. Berthold. Two daughters by a second wife, who was Miss Mathieu of Philadelphia, became Mrs. Wallace and Mrs. Weston. A St. Louis descendant of Maclot is serving in the American army today."

The St. Joseph Lead Company's gift of the old shot tower at Herculaneum with the bronze tablet to the United States Daughters of 1812 is a priceless one to Missouri. It is the second valuable donation to the public made by Mr. Clinton H. Crane and his corporation. The first is the unequalled collection of crystals in the State Resources Museum in the marble capitol at Jefferson City. This collection was made from all parts of the world and is one of the most complete in existence.

The holdings of the St. Joseph Lead Company lie in Missouri around the old Mine La Motte district. This organization is today the largest lead mining manufacturer in the world. It was organized in 1864. Mr. Crane was chairman of the lead producers committee for war service, which handled the entire American lead output during the World War. Lead from this locality is said to have been mined and used in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the War between the States, the Spanish-American War, and the World War.

WAWALANOWA, LAND OF THE ROAD TO PARADISE

BY CHAS. K. SOPER

Within the limits of St. Joseph, and north and south for many miles along the Missouri river bluffs, is a region of such exceeding beauty as to have inspired the unstinted admiration of many world-travelers. It lies in a land which Bayard Taylor pronounced "the garden spot of the world." Of it, for a century, tales have been told of an ancient race—tales that intrigue us, tales that are unfinished, vague, unsatisfying.

Troy was once little more than a name, but Schliemann dug out seven Troys, built one upon another, and gave us history. Who, then, will say we may not winnow from the chaff of half-remembered, misunderstood tales and a few relics, the story of Lanowa?

A middle-aged, blear-eyed man, some twenty years ago, stood over a hole he had dug on the western slope of a Lanowa hill. When asked his purpose he confessed he was looking for Indian beads, trinkets or utensils which he would exchange "fer a drink." It was a strange indictment of our civilization, for no Indian would do what this scion of the Aryan was doing. However, let us forgive him, for he also told of valuable finds of whose worth he had not the slightest conception.

Probably the story of the redman in Missouri, although there were many of them living within its borders a century ago, will never be told in any commensurate manner, partly because there are now so few important relics of him, but far more because we have not yet arrived at a point of sympathetic understanding of a race altogether alien to our own. Tales were told, here in northwest Missouri, of a "sacred ground," of a "paradise," of a "land of peace and plenty," but we clothed them with our own ideas and conventions, not the redman's. Thinking to find some solution on the spot, we go out among Lanowa's great boulders and ledges; listen to its brook-songs and the laughter of its

waterfalls; commune with its silences; or sing with its wild birds; but we return with a feeling of disappointment akin to sadness that we, too, have been denied an Eden at its gate for want of understanding.

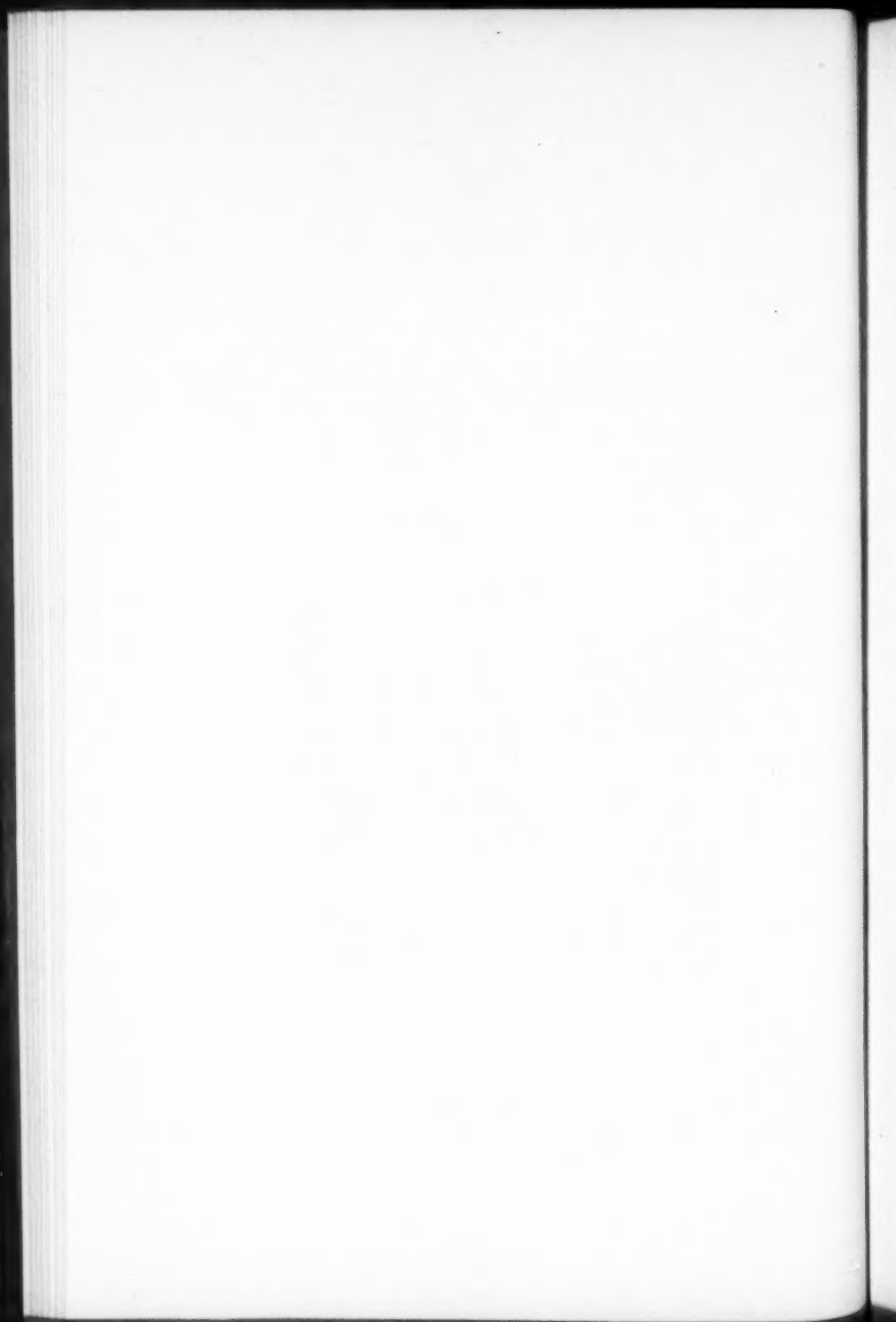
One of these tales was to the effect that this was sacred ground because the soul's journey from earth to the land of the hereafter was, here, assured safety from the evil spirits. Another, or perhaps, a part of the first, is that here was a land of peace and plenty, a refuge, a sanctuary from incessant warring. The most interesting, and a fit competitor of the Persian Chamivad, is that the soul passed "over the river" on the sunbridge—the sun-glade. This is the Lanowa legend.

The Algonquians (and some other tribes) had a myth to the effect that the soul passed into the unknown over the body of a great serpent. The Lanowa legend differs in no respect except that it substitutes what, to the poetic mind of a later Redman was the arm of the Great Spirit, which indicated an act of Providence, a conception not commonly credited to Methusa. Again, we have it from Thomas Forsyth, who lived much among the Saukies (derivatives of the Algonquians), that they believed the soul passed over the river on a *tree*—a notable retrogression from both the Algonquian and the Lanowa legends. Nor, according to Forsyth, was the passage assured. If the soul was "good," it passed safely over, but if it was "bad" it was shaken from the tree and was carried on down to the abode of the Evil Spirits to live, thereafter, in misery. The writer does not know that the Saukies among whom Forsyth lived were the same as those living here, but it is probable that they were, or that he knew of them also. His account, likely, was the common tribal one. *Manitoo*, in Algonquian (or *wakan*, in the Dakota), also meant serpent, usually the rattlesnake. That the serpent was a symbol of deity or of divine attributes, among almost all North American tribes, is well attested.

It may appear, at first thought, that the "good" and "bad" of Forsyth's account might imply Christian influences. Methusa, however, had his own code, marvelously true to righteous living. It was not mandatory, by spiritual authority, but was a code of



The Spirit of Lanowa



practical, time-tried and honorable conduct. As "good" or "bad" might refer to compliance with, or transgression of this code, it might seem we are little better off, in a comparison of the three myths, except that the Algonquian and Lanowa myths take no cognizance of the soul's past record. Methusa believed his soul came from the Great Soul *and would return to it as a matter of course*. What a person did, or failed to do, ethically, was not concerned in the final judgment. His danger or safety was altogether a matter of personal luck or ability to overcome the magic of the Evil Spirits, therefore the credibility of Forsyth's account as wholly Indianesque is eliminated.

Relics have been found in Lanowa indicating a people antedating the Columbian Indian and these suggest the question of relation between the Algonquian, for instance, and the Indians of Lanowa, or whoever originated the Lanowa myth. When the bones of a rattlesnake are found in a "sacred pack" along with bones and accoutrements of a pre-Columbian period, and indicating a shaman, a priest or other "medicine" man, it is high time for us to take account of the fact that history lies in Lanowa hills. The recent discovery in Ohio mounds (Bainbridge) adds further proof that, at some time in the past, the Mayas, Quiches, or other fairly civilized people, occupied a large portion of the Mississippi Valley.* Some years ago I saw a bead said to have been found in upper Holt county. Upon it was engraved the winged serpent in bas-relief on either side, one being just barely decipherable, but the other being quite plain except for some erosion in the center of the figure. So, it seems, the effigy of Quetzalcoatl, of the Aztec, or Kukulkan of the Mayas, was at the very least, not an entire stranger to Missouri and Lanowa.

Then there were tales that here was a great peace-ground. It is said no evidence of an Indian battle has ever been found in this region, as might have been done by the location of an unusual number of war arrow-heads in some strategic spot. The writer has heard two tales, of uncertain credibility, which substan-

*The recent findings at Fairfax, Atchison County, seem to bear out the same idea, but the writer has not yet seen these relics and cannot say. It is suggestive, however, that the location where the bead is supposed to have been found is only a few miles from the Fairfax location.

tiate this claim. One was that two parties, having some difficulty, retired to a point somewhere east of Maryville and perhaps a little south, to settle their troubles. Who they were and what the outcome is unknown. The other was that two parties claimed the same camp-site and were on the point of settling the question in the usual way, when a redbird lit in a bush between them and sang its song regardless of the superheated condition of the tribesmen, or clansmen, who finally decided that the camp-site was big enough for all. While this story, also, is unsworn before a notary, it is to be hoped that it is true and that the redbird may never lose its efficacy as a peacemaker, even among Missourians of a later day.

Other tales were told of "peace parties," "peace Councils," which supplement the legendary character of the region. These are interesting mainly for that reason and because they offer exceptional subject matter for literature, music and art.

Then there were stories of the "long trails," to which our pioneers gave spiritual significance. But there *were* long trails, it seems, and one of them joined the convergence of two others and led its mates along a brookside, through what is now the heart of the city, to Lanowa. Of the two, one extended toward the south and the other toward the southwest. That is all we know, but after a while the white men began talking of a great "Santa Fe" trail, which the Indian, the buffalo, the deer and the wolf—all the brotherhood of the wild—had made, and who knows how long ago, or why!

Again, Forsyth tells us, in a side-note on his manuscript, that the true name of the Missouri Indians was "Missouly-ah," or canoe people or that was the designation given them by the Linneways (Illinois). But, why canoe people? That is a designation applying to any tribe, clan or family using canoes and is more a general term than a name. If the Linneways called them by such a name it was to indicate not "a" people of known generation and descent, but rather, "the" people of some outstanding custom or practice. Missouly-ah, in view of other circumstances, might well be translated into "pilgrims," or "peacemakers."

Graves have been found on the crests and sides of many Lanowa hills. That fact, in itself, may mean little, but when we learn that some of them were scaffold graves (Courthouse hill); some were crypts—stone lined, with the body sitting, head bent forward (DeKalb, Forbes); some where the bodies were put in the hollows of standing trees; others sitting in shallow excavations with the head extended above the grave; others, tied into the forks of trees, a variation of the Decotah custom; and others in shallow graves, the commonest form found; then the question of why suggests itself. There are two known forms unrepresented; that by incineration, and that where the body was mummified and stored in caves or other very dry places. Incineration would not likely leave any evidence, beyond a hole containing charred wood and some bones, and if there be mummies, sleeping their last sleep in Lanowa, they are deeper than pick and shovel have gone, so far as known.

That the Indians had some exceptional reason for bringing their dead here for burial is well attested in this variety of burial forms, and that the desire for burial on Lanowa hills was widespread is vouched for by a living witness who saw a party, as late as 1860, here for that purpose. This party would neither explain why they came to Lanowa, nor when they had come, but the presumption is that they were southwestern Indians.

At the time of the Platte Purchase, it was the intention of General Clark to move the Sacs and Foxes and Kickapoos to the far west. The former had been so troublesome to the authorities that it was deemed expedient to send them far enough away to prevent a recurrence, at least during the lifetime of that generation. But Mahoska objected. It was "the land of my people." A council was held by the Indians, and it was decided to fight the last fight if need be. Clark knew the Indian; they respected him, and it was finally agreed that they should move just across the river from Lanowa where they might still be near the land of the redman without stopping the wheels of Aryan progress.

The Indian was intelligent. If he came to Lanowa from remote places, and buried his beloved dead here, there must

have been a very great reason for doing so. To have had that reason expressed in his own way with all his intelligence, his sagacity, his quaint humor and his poetic fancy would, indeed, have been a priceless treasure. But he, with all his ideals and conventions, stood in the way of another race. He has reached the end of his trail, and who is there to tell his story now?

To Columbus, the San Salvadoreans told a wonderful tale of a paradise far to the northwest; in Cuba, and elsewhere, Spanish adventurers heard marvelous stories of terrestrial paradises located in the same general direction; the Mayas, Toltecs and Aztecs located it to the north; the Apaches tell of a wonderland to the south, but it must be recalled they are emigrants from the far-off Canadian Athabascans; and the Zunis tell of a happy land toward the sunrise. Columbus found no Bimini; Ponce's hope ended long ago. Because these dreams were unrealized by white men, who shall say they were but fancies of these children of the wild! Certainly Methusa's most probable paradise would not be, at all, what a race of ravishers would picture. They who have had communion with Lanowa, through the eyes of understanding, must admit that nowhere else on this continent is there a region which more completely embodies all that would have been Methusa's ideal of a paradise which was, also, a shrine.

Beautiful as it is, situated and environed as few places are fated to be; in the heart of a continent, amidst an ever-growing population, and with its rare epic of a race which many of us think did not live in vain; who can think otherwise than that Lanowa should be saved, in perpetuity, to Missouri and All America?

REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL JOHN B. CLARK

BY W. D. VANDIVER

I first met General Clark in September, 1871, when I was a boy of seventeen just entering Central College at Fayette and he was about seventy years of age. The home which my father had just purchased was across the street from the Clark home. The General was so genial and so original that he soon became my hero, and a few years later when he retired from active law practice I spent many hours drinking in the tales of his experience and the story of his eventful life. I greatly regret that I did not write them down while they were fresh in mind.

He was the most interesting man that I have ever met—the most picturesque character. I have met only two men in my life who I think would have been completely spoiled by higher education. General Clark was one of them and the old Southeast Missouri pioneer preacher circuit rider, "Rough and Ready" Watts, was the other. High schools would have spoiled both of them. With them native talent was molded not for schools but for the times in which they lived.

Clark was born in Estelle or Madison county, Ky., in 1802, his parents having come from Virginia as most other Kentuckians had. His father moved to Howard county, Mo., in 1817. When Fayette was established as the county seat he, as a boy not quite grown, helped to chop the native forest trees from the public square where the court house now stands, and some of the logs were used to build a county clerk's office, which he shortly afterward occupied himself. While yet a boy he spent one winter with the Indians as a hostage to guarantee the keeping of a treaty made with them by the white settlers. Then having acquired the rudiments of an education, he studied law with an older brother, Robert P. Clark, who had previously settled at Boonville. His father's home was a large farm almost adjoining the town

of Fayette on the northeast. This was the family home for half a century.

In 1826 the young lawyer married Miss Eleanor Turner. His law practice soon reached into all the surrounding counties. His special gift was in getting next to the human side of the old-time county jurors. Hence he soon became a famous criminal lawyer. He told me once that he knew he could make more money as a commercial lawyer but he preferred the kind of practice that enlisted his sympathies and allowed him to give vent to his natural feelings. This led to many interesting incidents in the course of his practice at the bar.

Once, when his brother, Judge James Clark was arguing a case before a jury in the Howard County Circuit Court when John was on the other side, the jury was urged to use their heads and not allow their sympathies to be aroused by John's tearful appeal to them, because he was in the habit of crying over his clients although he knew they were guilty. When it came his turn to reply he said, "Yes, gentlemen of the jury, I do sometimes shed tears when I see my fellow men in distress, oppressed and persecuted, as this man is; and then to think that one of his oppressors is my own brother!—the angels in Heaven would weep to think of having such a brother as I've got." Of course his client was acquitted.

As a college boy I sometimes thought it allowable to cut a class when General Clark was to make a speech to a jury in the Court House. So I was there to listen to the speeches in the case of "The State Against Dooly." Dooly was charged with stealing meat from the smoke-house of Andy Tolson—specifically one certain fine smoked ham which was put before the jury as exhibit No. 1. Two other lawyers in the case, Robinson and Major, were wrangling over the evidence until heated words passed and Robinson grabbed the ham and tried to knock Major down with it. After peace was restored they addressed the jury and one of them warned the jury against General Clark's plea for sympathy; told them how he would cry and shed tears, but it was only a part of his play, his regular custom in fact, and they should pay no attention to such tears, but stand up for the honor of

Howard county. When he came to reply, Clark, with suppressed emotion, stood before the jury with his big red handkerchief in his hand and said slowly: "Yes, it is true, I sometimes cry over the distresses and suffering of fellow human beings, and sometimes it has no effect because my tears fall on stony ground—on hard, cold hearts like he has and like he wants you to have—but I cry most bitterly when I witness the shame of my people, my beloved people of Howard county, that I have known and loved all my life. One such occasion occurred at the battle of Boonville in the beginning of the late war. My company of noble Howard county boys was being hard pressed by the enemy, and I was galloping up and down the line trying to urge them to hold the line, when one great stalwart young fellow got scared, dropped his gun, and ran for his life across the field, jumping buckbushes this high. I cried out to him, 'Stop, Sam, Stop; for God's sake stop and turn back and face the enemy; for the honor of Howard county stop and turn back; for the honor of Howard county stop and face the enemy.' But my appeal fell on deaf ears; and I have to cry yet when I think of how the honor of my people suffered at the hands of this cold-hearted prosecutor who saved himself without thinking then of the honor of Howard county." The effect on the jury of course was the natural one.

It was this case, I think, or possibly another of like character (I am not quite clear on this point) that was very abruptly ended by an appeal to one of the old technicalities after the evidence was all in and showed clearly that Clark's client was guilty. Just before the case was to be given to the jury he pulled the card which had all the time been up his sleeve, addressing the court as follows "Please, Your honor, I object to the form of this indictment and ask that it be quashed on the ground that it closes with the words 'against the peace and dignity of the *statute*,' instead of *state*." The court upheld the contention and the prisoner went free.

When he retired from practice at the age of about seventy-five, he told me that in the course of fifty years he had defended a hundred men for murder and only had one client hung, which I thought was good service for the clients but hard on society.

Many remarkable instances have been told of his subtle power with a jury.

THE CONTEMPT CASE

In a murder case tried in Chariton county, his brother James was the judge; and had to reprimand him several times, and then fined him; and finally ordered him to *sit down*; he then stood *straight up*, saying, "You can fine me; you can jail me; but you can't make me *sit down*." The court then ordered the sheriff to take him to jail for contempt of court. The sheriff, a short little man named Davis, started toward him to arrest him. Clark straightened himself up, six feet two inches high with massive head, looked the sheriff in the face and said deliberately, "*Davis, you-know-me-too-well-to-lay-your-hands-on-me,*" and the sheriff stopped and held back—as DeQuincy says of the old Roman Caius Marius, who when the executioner entered his cell with orders to slay him turned and "smote him with his eye" and exclaimed, "Darest thou, slave, to kill Caius Marius?" whereupon the hireling slunk away leaving Marius alone in his majesty. But in a minute more, as the court reiterated the order, Clark relented. turned to the sheriff and said, "Mr. Davis, it is your duty under the law to arrest me. I am a law-abiding citizen and will not resist an officer of the law; take me to your jail;" then turning to the jury, pathetically said, "Gentlemen of the Jury, you see how I am taken from you. I must leave this young man, my client, in your hands without a lawyer." One of the jurors blurted out their sentiments at once, "You needn't be uneasy about him." He then turned to his brother, the judge on the bench, and said in lower tone, "Jim, you are making a fool of yourself; I'd as soon you'd fine me a million as a bit." By the time the sheriff got his prisoner to the old shack of a jail on the bank of the Chariton river, the citizens were tearing off the roof. With the roof off it would not hold him and he told the sheriff to lock him up in his own room at the hotel, which he did. In the morning Clark apologized, both brothers were in tears, the court remitted the fine and rescinded the jail order; the prisoner was acquitted and peace again prevailed in the Clark family.

A BIRTHDAY CASE

At another time in 1846 a newcomer from Kentucky named Perry McGhee was his client, charged with murder. It was a bad case, a change of venue was taken from Macon county and the case was to be tried at Fayette before Judge William A. Hall. Knowing that the evidence was strong against his client, his only hope was to keep him from being tried. He hired a man to ride all over the county and get petitions signed asking the judge to free the man. Then all who refused to sign one of these petitions were asked to sign a remonstrance. By the time the Court met and the case was called, nearly every man in the county who was eligible for jury service had his name on one or the other of these papers, and when asked the usual question if they had expressed an opinion in the case all with one accord answered. "Yes." The judge was dumfounded. No jury could be found to try the case. The next morning, June 1, 1846, the judge still deliberating on what to do, as Clark left his home in his old buggy for the Court, his wife called him and told him she was sick. He divined the cause, started a servant for the doctor, told her to be patient and brave and she would get through all right. That evening, when he returned and found a new born babe of healthy proportions, well formed and with a lusty cry, he said, "Well, Nellie, this has been a good day. You have given me a fine, healthy boy and the court has freed Perry McGhee." The babe proved to be fine and healthy, grew to be a handsome man and a fine citizen and still lives at the old family home in Fayette, honored and respected by all who know him, as Col. Robt. C. Clark who will be eighty years old next June.

HIS HUMAN SYMPATHY

Many other instances could be cited of his ingenuity and resourcefulness. Some of his tactics would hardly be allowed under court rules today, but their moving spirit was a genuine sympathy for people who were in trouble. Like him in this, I think is the great criminal lawyer of Chicago, Clarence Darrow, who told me once that he never wanted to see a single human being punished either by hanging or by imprisonment. This idea,

I think, is destructive for the state, but it shows that deep sympathy with the weaknesses of human nature which may be bad for the safety of society but is very human at heart.

THE CELEBRATED MCKINNEY CASE

This unique incident occurred in the Boone County Circuit Court in 1869 when Civil War sentiment still ran high. John C. McKinney, an old Confederate soldier, was sued by Robert Pulliam for slander. Pulliam's lawyer was General Odon Guitar, a Union general during the war and the recognized head of the Boone county bar. In his speech to the jury Guitar pointed to McKinney, a tall, slender man, and compared him to the "lean and hungry Cassius" who plotted and planned the assassination of Caesar. Gen. Clark in reply was unusually vindictive: "Yes," said he, "gentlemen of the jury, it is true that Mr. McKinney does look lean and hungry; he has often been so because General Guitar with a regiment of Federal soldiers swooped down upon him, emptied his corn cribs and drove off the fine fat cattle from his farm and left him nothing to eat. This is why Guitar looks fat and sleek and McKinney is left lean and hungry." Of course this was a little outside the record, and possibly irrelevant, but it touched the hearts of the jury and greatly affected their decision of the case.

Clark had a very wide range of interests and activities, was a good story teller, and in leisure hours, when on the streets, always had a crowd of country friends gathered about him. His likes and dislikes were deep-seated, he loved his friends and hated his enemies, but his loves always out-lived his hates. No wonder he became a successful pleader at the bar, a powerful politician on the stump, and a brave warrior on the field of battle. He was eminent in these three lines of activity. As a lawyer the foregoing references illustrate his power.

CLARK AS A WARRIOR

The old-time Muster Day was a great day two or three times a year in every county of the state, when all the young and middle-aged men had to enroll in the state militia, and once a

year spend several days in military drill. Young Clark soon became proficient in military training. At the age of twenty-one he became captain of a company. At twenty-three he was elected colonel of a regiment. At twenty-eight he was a brigadier-general and at thirty-four was a major-general in the state military organization.

In 1832 he was one of General Richard Gentry's officers in the Black Hawk War. In 1837 he was one of the officers in the Florida War, and in 1838 was commissioned by Gov. Boggs to drive the Mormons out of Missouri. General Doniphan of Clay county, General Wallock of Monroe county, General Parks of Ray county, and other officers were ordered by the Governor to report to General Clark at Richmond in Ray county, the whole force to be placed under Clark's command. The commission was duly executed and the Mormons driven out of Missouri.

When the Civil War came on, Clark, like most of the prominent men of Missouri, was at first opposed to secession, but equally opposed to using force to coerce the Southern States and compel them to stay in the Union against their will. This was the overwhelming sentiment of the State Convention which was elected February 18, 1861, to consider the state's relation to the United States government. The popular vote gave a majority of 80,000 for the Union, but after Federal troops attacked and captured Camp Jackson and blood began to flow on Missouri soil the political lines were at once newly drawn and General Clark, with many others, became a secessionist; was commissioned by Gov. Claib Jackson, his former enemy, a brigadier-general of volunteers and ordered to join Marmaduke under Price at Boonville. Here the Confederates were defeated by the Federals under General Lyon and on the 18th of June, 1861, began their march toward the South. At Wilson's Creek a few weeks later, Price more than evened up accounts with Lyon, who was not only defeated, but killed while leading a charge on the field. A few hours after the battle, when the Federal forces were in full retreat, the dead body of Lyon was placed in Price's carriage and sent on

to Springfield under a flag of truce to his own men—an act of becoming magnanimity.

In this battle General Clark was painfully but not dangerously wounded in one leg. The next morning, sitting in his tent while the surgeon was dressing his wound, he was commenting on the great battle, and forgetting his pain, he burst out in exclamation, "Yes, and my gosh! did you see how my men fought 'em?"

In October and November following this the Secessionist legislature, meeting at Neosho and Cassville, elected Clark and Peyton to the Confederate Senate, and the next four years were spent mostly at Richmond, Va.

THE EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

When the downfall of the Confederate government came, Clark's name was on the list of those for whom the Federal Government at Washington was offering a reward; and so he followed Shelby's expedition to Mexico. This expedition with all its thrilling adventures and daring exploits has been so eloquently portrayed by Col. John N. Edwards, who was always close to Shelby and a member of his staff, that no one now should attempt to rewrite the story. Without disparagement of other great Missouri writers it may be set down at once that for chivalrous gallantry and picturesque description Edwards easily heads our list of literary war correspondents.

In this brilliant work of the gifted war correspondent Clark's name frequently appears, but I think he possibly overlooked an incident of good fortune to the old lawyer warrior. While the expedition was resting at Monterey, a prosperous looking gentleman entered Clark's room at the hotel and said, "General Clark, I am an old Missourian. Do you remember me?" "I think I do, but I can't call the name," said Clark. "Well, about ten years ago you defended me and cleared me of a serious charge before the court in your county. I was poor and could not pay your fee. Now I am able to do so. Here is \$500.00." Nothing could have been more fortunate, for Clark was dead broke in a foreign country; and this tided him over for almost a year.

Finally the end of his exile came. He was arrested, brought to New Orleans and imprisoned, I think in Fort Jackson, near that city, not knowing what would be his fate.

One day, looking through the bars of his prison door, he saw that the guard on duty was a negro soldier, and presently this negro guard recognized him and addressed him in old-time familiar style: "Lordy, Massy! General Clark!— Marsah, don't you know me? This is Tip, and I ain't seed you for more an four yeahs." Tip was one of his own slaves before the war and still loved his old master. Tip offered to open the door and let him out, but like Socrates, he refused to avail himself of this friendly offer, telling Tip that it would get them both into worse trouble than he was then in. But Tip furnished him with writing material and he wrote a letter to Andy Johnson, President of the United States, stating his condition. They had been friends together in Congress before the War. Shortly there came a telegram from Staunton, Secretary of War, ordering him to report at Washington. Arriving there, he went at once to the White House. His old friend greeted him kindly and said, "Clark, what do you want me to do?" "Well, Andy," said he, "You know I have been a rebel for four years and more and have fought the government all the time. Now I am tired of it and want to return and be a loyal citizen. I want you to issue the necessary papers" "Andy" turned to his Secretary and ordered the papers prepared for a full pardon and restoration to citizenship. Such are the ups and downs of fate. But it is fortunate that in all the best of human hearts still runs the red blood of human kind.

POLITICAL CAREER

In American history there are few if any instances of the successful lawyer and successful warrior entirely eschewing the field of politics. Clark was no exception; he was in fact a shining example of the rule that the law and the army together afford the best foundation for the statesman to stand on. Passing over minor matters, he helped to organize the Whig party in Missouri in 1836 and after returning from the Mormon War

in 1838 became the Whig candidate for governor in 1840, when William Henry Harrison was their candidate for president, having defeated Henry Clay for the nomination. If Clay had been the Whig nominee it is probable that he and Clark would both have carried Missouri. Many of the ablest men in the state were with Clark—Jas. S. Rollins, Abiel Leonard and others. But the Democrats won as usual in those ante bellum times in Missouri. It was in the heat of this campaign that great animosities were aroused.

A DUEL THAT WAS NOT FOUGHT

Claiborne F. Jackson, a member of the legislature and an able writer, published a private letter of General Clark written to James Birch and made aggravating comments on the spelling as well as the sentiments expressed. When he refused to retract or to explain, Clark challenged him to a duel. Judge Abiel Leonard carried the challenge. Jackson accepted and named the terms; the fight to take place the next day, with rifles, eighty yards apart and the place to be within one mile of Fayette. As the State law forbade duelling, Clark insisted the fight should be outside the State of Missouri and suggested Wolf Island in the Mississippi river, where Leonard had fought his duel with Taylor Berry. Jackson refused to agree to any change. Clark then published a card "To The Public" denouncing Jackson as a "Slanderer and a Coward" Jackson replied in kind, and this apparently ends the record of the fight. It is supposed that Leonard, being a friend to both parties, made peace between them. At any rate they became friends again and twenty years afterward when Jackson ran for governor, Clark, then a Democratic Congressman, was his closest adviser and friend, and after war broke out in 1861 Jackson as governor appointed Clark as a brigadier-general of the state militia.

CLARK IN CONGRESS

By 1852 the Whig party was disintegrating. Its great leader, Henry Clay, after affecting his compromise measures of 1850, retired from active leadership and soon after died, leaving his country at peace and a priceless legacy of good will from all parties behind him.

In 1854 the new political alignments found General Clark a strong anti-Benton Democrat and in 1856 he was sent to Congress. There his talents found a new field. He was re-elected in 1858 and in 1860, but was not seated for the last term. Then came the famous speakership contest over the organization of the 36th Congress in 1859. The newly organized Republican party put in nomination for the speakership John Sherman of Ohio; the Democrats nominated Bocock, and the Know Nothings with about twenty members holding the balance of power nominated William Pennington. The contest waged for two months, Clark leading the attack on Sherman because he had endorsed and recommended a book written by a man named Helper which was very offensive to the South. Clark offered a resolution to the effect that "no man who endorses Helper's book is fit to preside over the deliberations of this House." Whenever the contest began to lag, he would call for his resolution, read from the book and from Sherman's praise of it. This would keep the fires burning. Finally, after two months of filibustering debate, Sherman withdrew and supported Pennington which elected him. The celebrated Tom Corwin, Democrat of Ohio, came over and told Clark he must make another speech. He rose and announced that he was greatly pleased that even the Republicans had approved his resolution by withdrawing Sherman's name; and then told his famous Turkey story. The gist of the story is that a noted hunter shot a big gobbler from his roost up in the top of a high tree; then dropped his gun and ran to grab the turkey, but found he had only winged the big bird and his legs were carrying him off at a rapid gait. Running with all his might till out of breath and seeing the turkey disappear over another hilltop, he stopped and shouted, 'Go it old bird! but d—n you, you'll have to roost lower hereafter.' * * * * Seven years later, the evening after Clark had received his pardon from Andy Johnson, he walked down Pennsylvania avenue to his old boarding house, the Brown Hotel, afterward known as the Metropolitan Hotel, where he met Sherman with General Banks and other celebrities. They chatted over old times and how things had changed; and Sherman said, "Yes, Clark, there have been great

changes since you told that turkey story, but I have not roosted any lower yet." General Banks twitted him a little, and Clark, turning to the others, said, "Banks was a great blessing to us down South; every time we needed provisions we just went out and captured General Bank's supply train; he was a good commissary agent."

After the Speakership fight and the debates following it were over, Clark's name was known throughout the country and several newspapers suggested him for the Democratic nomination for President in 1860, but no general movement of this kind was started and he contented himself with the idea of remaining in Congress and helping to direct the policy of the Democratic party.

In the Democratic National Convention at Charleston, S. C. in 1860, Clark represented Missouri on the Resolutions or Platform Committee. Ben Butler, later called "Spoon Butler" during the war, represented Massachusetts, and "Extra Bill" Smith represented California. After much acrimonious discussion, Butler's remarks being very offensive to California people, Smith walked over to him and slapped his face.

The Convention split and adjourned to meet later at Baltimore. Clark again represented Missouri and supported Douglas of Illinois who was considered by Clark as the regular Democratic nominee. Through his influence Claib Jackson, the candidate for Governor, and the other candidates for state offices were induced to support Douglas. Although Hancock Jackson, running for Governor as a Breckenridge Democrat, polled 11,450 votes, and Sample Orr, a red-headed fiery genius from the Ozark hills on the Bell and Everett Union ticket polled 64,583 votes, Claib Jackson was elected Governor with 74,446 votes. Clark was re-elected Congressman, and Stephen A. Douglas carried Missouri for President,—the only state in the Union which he did carry. Such was the influence and power of Clark and "The Fayette Clique," as it was called. In that period, as one writer has expressed it, "Fayette politically was to Missouri what Athens was to Greece."

Jumping over about seven years following the Civil War period we find General Clark again a candidate for Congress in

the old Howard county district in 1872. Against him were Col. Wm. F. Switzler of Boone, Judge Davis of Saline, and General James Shields of Carroll, who had already been a general in two wars and a senator from two states (and afterward a senator by appointment from Missouri— the only man in American history who ever served three different states in the U. S. Senate.) The contest for the nomination was a warm one. They were all three very able men. The Convention met at Carrollton and was in deadlock for five days. They had adopted the two-thirds rule; Clark had a clear majority but lacked three votes of two-thirds. For two days and on many ballots he only lacked these three votes. He was much nearer to it than Champ Clark was to the presidential nomination at Baltimore in 1912.

Finally, at the end of the week, Gen. John S. Marmaduke took the floor withdrew the name of John B. Clark, Sr. and proposed the name of Jno. B. Clark, Jr. This solved the problem. The young General was nominated, elected and served the district with distinction and honor for the next ten years. The old General took the floor himself after his son was nominated, thanked his friends from the depths of his heart for their loyalty, and said of his son, "John is a good boy; he made a brave soldier; and he will make an honorable Congressman; he has inherited all the virtues of his mother and but few of the vices of his father. I will now go home and help Nellie peel peaches." He then lived quietly at home until he died in 1885, eighty-three years of age. One of his wise sayings was "Never attempt the impossible nor grieve over the inevitable and half the sorrows of life are missed." He was a kind and generous neighbor, a great pleader at the bar, a veteran of five wars, a statesman of two governments, an exile from one with a price on his head, and yet lived to enjoy the peace of old age and the prosperity of a reunited and happy country

ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN

A Missouri Contribution to the World
famed spots of Earth

BY ROLLIN J. BRITTON

"The Zephyr's asleep on the blue grass,
The dusk minnows creep in the stream;
I am thrilled with a wild, weird, fancy,
And go back to the past in my dream."

The true story of Grand River Valley as it crosses Daviess county, Missouri, is as wondrous as any dream. This valley was no part of the short-grass country that rolled away from the Missouri river out into the burning plains of the far West, but was a part of the long-grass country that encompassed the tributaries of the Missouri from the North and stretched away to become lost in the great prairies of Iowa.

The first white men to enter this valley were hunters and trappers who worked their way up Grand river in 1826 to find the country occupied by very sparse but friendly groups of Indians, mostly Sacs, Foxes and Pottawattamies, allied tribes of Algonquin stock that came originally from the St. Lawrence basin and the region of the Great Lakes. These Indians came of warrior stock that had become decimated and impoverished through participation in the French and Indian wars and in having made the serious mistake of fighting under the British flag in our war of 1812. No Indian troubles ever occurred in Grand River Valley.

In January, 1830, John Splawn and his son Mayberry erected the first cabin within the region that was later to become Daviess county. This first home was erected near the northwest corner of the present town site of Gallatin, but the Splawns very shortly moved to what was to become known as Splawn's Ridge, three miles east of the present site of Gallatin and near what was to become the town of Mill Port. During the months

of January and February, John Tarwater and Stephen Roberts brought their families to cabin homes on Honey creek, but in March the two children of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Roberts died and this bereaved couple returned to the state from whence they came.

In April of 1830 Daniel Devaul and others came. Later the same year came Benedict Weldon, James Weldon and Humphrey Best. The first physician to reach the Grand River Country came that same year in the person of Dr. William P. Thompson, who settled outside of what was to become Daviess county and gave his name to Thompson's fork of Grand river.

In the fall of 1831 the Black Hawk War broke out in Illinois. The Grand River Valley pioneers for the most part sought safety at Missouri River points till scouts ranged the country and reported that there were no hostile Indians in Western Iowa nor in Grand River Valley. The Black Hawk War was speedily ended in Illinois and peace was never broken in Missouri.

In the fall of 1831 Robert P. Peniston, Sr., brought his family, his slaves and belongings from Kentucky. The family remained for the winter in lower Ray county, while the eldest son, William P. Peniston, accompanied by three slaves, Jacob, Henry and the wife of the latter, pushed on to the Grand River Country and builded cabins for the family on Splawn's Ridge, where the family was reunited in the spring of 1832. Theodore Peniston joined the group at Splawn's Ridge at the same time. Milford Donaho, a good all-around mechanic, who had been a scout during the Black Hawk scare, brought his family and settled near Auberry Grove.

MILL PORT AND GALLATIN

The great need of the pioneers for a mill where their corn could be ground into meal became so apparent that Robert P. Peniston, Sr., the then most prosperous man on Grand river, employed Milford Donaho to erect a horse mill on the Peniston land. The mill was built of logs and timbers scored and hewed by Donaho aided by the slave Jacob Peniston; the latter was a famous axman. The burs for the mill were made by Donaho

from boulders found on the prairie and were fashioned with tools Donaho made in his blacksmith shop.

The mill proved a very great success and it was the center of the milling industry on Grand river for perhaps fifteen years. Settlers came because of the mill, and a town site was surveyed and platted and Mill Port thus became the first town in that part of Grand River Valley and was getting along famously when Daviess county was organized in 1836.

Settlers came as far as forty miles to deal with John A. Williams, grocer; Milford Donaho, blacksmith; Jacobs and Lomax, merchants; Worthington and McKinney, merchants; Morin and Compton, merchants; and Jesse Adamson, grocer.

Mill Port was on the east side of Grand river, at what is known as the Peniston Ford. The fact that it was on the east side of the river was not advantageous, the most of its trade came from the opposite side. In 1837 the town of Gallatin was platted just three miles west of Mill Port and was made the county seat of Daviess county, which gave the new town such an ascendancy that Mill Port soon faded away and in time became a lost own.

ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN

While Gallatin was becoming a town in 1837 Lyman Wight came to Daviess county and settled upon Grand river where in 1837 he founded a town three and one-half miles north of Gallatin on the west half ($\frac{1}{2}$) of the southwest quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) of Section Thirty (30), Township Sixty (60), Range Twenty-seven (27). This man, Lyman Wight, as a young man lived in the city of New York, from which city he enlisted for service in the war of 1812, later he drifted westward and at Warrensville, Ohio, on November 14, 1830, he was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints by Elder Parley P. Pratt. He was then ordained an Elder on November 20, 1830, and at the June conference following was ordained a high priest and shortly entered upon the ministry at Independence, Missouri, where trouble sought him out as a bright and shining light and kept after him so persistently that in 1839 he petitioned a department at Washington for redress in the following words:

The petition of Lyman Wight most humbly sheweth that petitioner removed from the State of Ohio to the State of Missouri in the year 1832 (1831), where I hoped to live in peace, but after toiling and undergoing all the hardships of a new Country for two years and suffering many privations of the comforts of life, I was assailed by a lawless mob, and was driven from my house in Jackson County to Clay County; my crops and all other property I possessed were taken from me, except a small part of household furniture. I stayed in Clay County for upwards of two years, when I was again assailed by a mob, who said I must deny my sentiments of religion or move from that County, but rather than deny my religion or be put to death, I disposed of my property at low rate, and removed my family to Davis (Davies) County, located myself on Grand River, made an improvement, gained to myself a pre-emption right on which a small town was laid off: it was then worth to me at least ten thousand dollars. But some time in the month of September last I was ordered to leave my possessions again, and this by a mob which was got up by Sashel Wood (a Presbyterian Preacher) and Doctor Craven (who have since entered my lands) without any other consideration than to get me chained up in prison and drive my family from the State without food and raiment to make them comfortable; they kept me in prison six months, until they succeeded in driving every man, woman and child (who professed the same religion that I did) out of the State, except those whom they murdered in the State, although they have never been able to substantiate the first accusation against me, yet my sufferings for seven years have been more severe than tongue can tell, or pen can write.

Lyman Wight had little to do with the naming of the town thus located upon his land, which town was to become historic in the annals of his faith. The religious organization in which Lyman Wight had membership, commonly known as the Mormon Church, located its administration headquarters in Caldwell county, Missouri, in 1837, at the town it founded and named Far West. At this town of Far West, Joseph Smith, Jr., the prophet, declared a revelation on April 26, 1838, which revelation fixed the name of the Church and directed the prophet to do certain things that resulted in making history for Lyman Wight's town. That revelation was as follows:

Revelation given at Far West, April 26, 1838, making known the Will of God concerning the building up of this Place, and of The Lord's House, etc:

Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant, Joseph Smith, Jr., and also my servant Sidney Rigdon, and also my servant, Hyrum Smith, and your counselors who are and shall be appointed hereafter; and also

unto you my servant, Edward Partridge, and his Counselors, and also unto my faithful servants who are of the High Council of my Church in Zion (for thus it shall be called), and unto all the Elders and people of my Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, scattered abroad in all the World; for this shall my Church be called in the last days even the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Verily I say unto you all, Arise and shine forth, that thy light may be a standard for the Nations, and that the gathering together upon the land of Zion and upon her stakes may be for a defense, and for a refuge from the storms and from wrath when it shall be poured out without mixture upon the whole earth. Let this City, Far West, be a holy and consecrated land unto me, and it shall be called most holy, for the ground upon which thou standeth is holy; therefore I command you to build an house unto me, for gathering together of my saints, that they may worship me; and let there be a beginning of this work, and a foundation, and a preparatory work, this following summer, and let the beginning be made on the 4th day of July next and from that time forth let my people labor diligently to build an house unto my name, and in one year from this day let them recommence laying the foundation of my house; thus let them from that time forth labor diligently until it shall be finished from the corner stone thereof unto the top thereof, until there shall not anything remain that is not finished.

Verily I say unto you, let not my servant, Joseph, neither my servant Sidney, neither my servant Hyrum, get in debt any more for the building of an house unto my name; but let a house be built unto my name according to the pattern which I will show unto them. And if my people build it not according to the pattern which I will show unto their Presidency I will not accept it at their hands; but if my people do build it according to the pattern which I shall show unto their Presidency, even my servant Joseph and his Counselors, then I will accept it at the hands of my people. And again verily I say unto you. It is my will that the city of Far West should be built up speedily by the gathering of my saints, and also that other places should be appointed for stakes in the regions around about, as they shall be manifest unto my servant Joseph from time to time; for behold I will be with him, and I will sanctify him before the people, for unto him have I given the keys of this kingdom and ministry, even so, Amen." (Millennial Star, Vol. 16, Page 147-149).

Pursuant to this revelation, the prophet proceeded to the appointment of other places for stakes in the region round about. His exploring trip northward from Far West is told in his diary as follows:

Friday, May 18, 1838, I left Far West in Company with Sidney Rigdon, T. B. Marsh, D. W. Patten, Bishop Partridge, E. Higbee, S. Carter, Alanson Riples and many others for the purpose of visiting the North Country, and laying off a stake of Zion, making locations, and laying claims to facilitate the gathering of the Saints, and for the benefit of the poor, in

upbuilding the Church of God. We traveled to the mouth of Honey Creek which is a tributary of Grand River, where we camped for the night. We passed a beautiful Country of land, a majority of which is prairie (Untimbered land), and thickly covered with grass and weeds, among which is plenty of game; such as deer, turkey, hen, elk, etc. We discovered a large black wolf, and my dog gave him chase, but he outran us.

We have nothing to fear in camping out, except the rattlesnakes which is natural to this Country, though not very numerous. We turned our horses loose and let them feed on the prairie.

Saturday 19th this morning we struck our tents and formed a line of march, crossing Grand River at the mouth of Honey Creek and Nelson's Ferry. Grand River is a large, beautiful, deep, and rapid stream during the high waters of spring, and will undoubtedly admit of steamboat navigation and other water craft; and at the mouth of Honey Creek are a splendid harbor and good landing. We pursued our course up the river, mostly in the timber, about eighteen miles, when we arrived at Colonel Lyman Wight's, who lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave it in consequence of the remains of an old Nephite Alter or tower), where we camped for the Sabbath.

In the afternoon, I went up the river about half a mile to Wight's Ferry, accompanied by President Rigdon and my clerk, George W. Robinson, for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a City plat near said ferry in Daviess County, Township 60, Ranges 27 and 28, and Sections 25, 26, 31, and 30 which the brethren called Spring Hill; *but by the mouth of the Lord it was named Adam-Ondi-Ahman, because said he, it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet.*

We must therefore turn to the 7th Chapter of Daniel to learn of the tremendous things that are yet to occur at this spot on Grand River; and there read:

9. I beheld till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit; his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was fiery flames, and the wheels thereof burning fire.

10. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousands of thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set and the books were opened****

13. I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

14. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed****.

21. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them.

22. Until the ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High, and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

A better understanding of what Joseph Smith, the prophet, meant by his reference to Adam and to the ancient of days is made possible when one knows that Mormon theology teaches that the ancient of days and Adam are one and the same person.

Not only are these stupendous things yet to glorify this sacred spot but we learn from Doctrine and Covenants of the Church that wondrous things have already occurred there, to-wit: it was revealed to Joseph Smith in March, 1832.

"That through my providence, notwithstanding the tribulation which shall descend upon you, that the Church may stand independent above all other creatures beneath the celestial world, that you may come up unto the crown prepared for you, and be made rulers over many kingdoms, saith the Lord God, the Holy One of Zion, who hath established the foundations of Adam-Ondi-Ahman; who hath appointed Michael your prince, and established his feet and set him upon high and given unto him the keys of salvation under the Counsel and direction of the Holy One, who is without beginning of days or end of life."

Another revelation in November, 1834, disclosed to Joseph Smith that:

"Three years previous to the death of Adam he called Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch and Methuselah, who were righteous, unto the valley of Adam-Ondi-Ahman, and there bestowed upon them his last blessing, and the Lord appeared unto them, and they rose up and blessed Adam, and called him Michael, the Prince, the Archangel. And the Lord administered comfort unto Adam and said unto him, I have set thee to be a the head; a multitude of nations shall come of thee; and thou art a prince over them forever."

So we learn that Adam; the ancient of days; and Michael the Archangel are all one and the same person, and that he, from the dawn of life in the Garden of Eden till the judgment shall

open the books, is forever identified with this spot in Grand River Valley in Daviess county, Missouri.

Yet despite all of this clear elucidation of Adam-On-di-Ahman it early became the conviction of the denizens in Grand River Valley outside of the hierarchy and of many in the Church as well that Adam-On-di-Ahman referred to the grave of Adam. One James H. Hunt made an assault upon Mormonism in his book printed by Ustick and Davies of St. Louis in 1844, wherein on page 144 he says:

"Adam-on-di-ah-mond, alludes, as we are informed, to Smith's finding the bones of Adam and Eve, which were buried at that place in very early times." Hunt was a very careful historian, he states with conscientious regard to facts that this burial took place in very early times.

Major Joseph H. McGee, whose memory is venerated in Grand River Valley, lived in Daviess county through all all of its Mormon experiences. He tells us about the pre-emption of John D. Lee, (later of Mountain Meadow fame) in what was to become Monroe Township, and of the place where Chauncey G. Webb, father of Ann Eliza, Brigham Young's wife No. 19, settled near the mouth of South Big Creek and of many historic facts connected with the Mormon War and of the early joys and struggles of the pioneers. Maj. McGee tells of the location of the Stake to Zion in Daviess county as the result of a revelation in which Joseph Smith was directed to:

"A point of upland which was made memorable and should be held dear to every son and daughter of Adam. As it was on this spot that the great Father Adam was buried.

"It was here where he died and was gathered to his father, and it is here you shall locate the Stake of Zion in Daviess County, and you shall call the name thereof Adam-On-di-Ahman, which being interpreted means the grave of the first man, Adam."

Major McGee tells us also that this place was familiarly called "Diahmon."

We even find a suggestion of this grave theory in the history of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, for in Church History, Volume 2, Page 111, we read:

"The locality was named 'Adam-Ondi-Ahman' signifying it is said: The grave of Adam, as certain of the wise men claimed it to be the burial place of the progenitor of the human race."

However, the above Church history was compiled by Heman C. Smith, a most careful historian, who in telling the story of a visit to Adam-Ondi-Ahman that appeared in the *Journal of History* of April, 1916, wrote:

"The superstitious still tell of lights seen there on Friday nights and that Adam comes out on these occasions. Where these traditions originated we do not know for there is no record of the Latter Day Saints claiming, in that early day, that Adam was buried there."

Reverting to the organization of the Stake we find the following words from the pen of Lyman Wight:

"About June, Joseph Smith, together with many others of the principal men of the Church, came to my house, and taking a view of the large bottom in the bend of the river, and the beautiful prairies on the bluffs came to the conclusion that it would be a handsome situation for a town. We, therefore, commenced surveying and laying off town lots, and locating government lands for many miles north of this place. This beautiful country with its flattering prospects drew in floods of emigrants. It had not less than thirty comers and goers through the day during the three summer months, and up to the last mentioned date (last of October) there were upwards of two hundred houses built in this town, and also about forty families living in their wagons."

On June 28, 1838, a Stake was duly organized, the minutes of which meeting are as follows:

Adam-Ondi-Ahman, Missouri, Daviess County, June 28, 1838.

A conference of Elders and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was held at this place this day, for the purpose of organizing this Stake of Zion, called Adam-Ondi-Ahman.

The meeting convened at ten o'clock A. M. in the grove near the house of Elder Lyman Wight.

President Joseph Smith, Jr., was called to the chair, who explained the object of the meeting which was to organize a Presidency and High Council, to preside over this Stake of Zion, and attend to the affairs of the Church in Daviess County.

It was then motioned, seconded and carried by the unanimous voice of the assembly, that President John Smith should act as President of the Stake of Adam-Ondi-Ahman.

Reynolds Cahoon was unanimously chosen first Counselor, and Lyman Wight second Counselor.

After prayer the Presidents ordained Elder Wight as second Counselor.

Vinson Knight was chosen acting bishop pro-tempore, by the unanimous voice of the assembly.

President John Smith then proceeded to organize the High Council.

The Counselors were chosen according to the following order, by a unanimous vote: John Lemon, 1st; Daniel Stanton, 2nd; Mayhew Hillman, 3rd; Daniel Carter, 4th; Isaac Perry, 5th; Harrison Sagers, 6th; Alanson Brown, 7th; Thomas Gordon, 8th; Lorenzo D. Barnes, 9th; George A. Smith, 10th; Harvey Olmstead, 11th; Ezra Thayer, 12th.

After the ordination of the Counselors, who had not previously been ordained to the high priesthood, President Joseph Smith, Jr., made remarks by way of charge to the President and Counselors, instructing them in the duties of their callings, and the responsibility of their stations, exhorting them to be cautious and deliberate in all their Councils and to be careful and act in righteousness in all things.

President John Smith, R. Cahoon, and L. Wight then made some remarks.

Lorenzo D. Barnes was unanimously chosen clerk of this Council and Stake, and after singing the well-known hymn, Adam-Ondi-Ahman, the meeting closed by prayer by President Cahoon and a benediction by President Joseph Smith, Jr.

Lorenzo D. Barnes,
Isaac Berry, Clerks.

The hymn Adam-Ondi-Ahman was perhaps sung for the first time at the dedication of the temple at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1836. Its author is unknown but the hymn is as follows:

This earth was once a garden place,
With all her glories common;
And men did live a holy race
And worship Jesus face to face,
In Adam-Ondi-Ahman.

We read that Enoch walked with God,
Above the pow'r of Mammon;
While Zion spread herself abroad,
And saints and angels sang aloud
In Adam-Ondi-Ahman.

Her land was good and greatly blest,
Beyond old Israel's Canaan;
Her fame was known from East to West;
Her peace was great, and pure the rest
Of Adam-Ondi-Ahman.

Hosanna to such days to come—
The Savior's second coming—
When all the Earth in glorious bloom,
Affords the saints a holy home,
Like Adam-Ondi-Ahman.

This is about all of the story of Adam-Ondi-Ahman, for a general election for Daviess county was held in Gallatin on August 6, 1838, at which the Mormons were denied the right to vote, a fight followed and what is known as the Mormon War ensued resulting in the expulsion of every Mormon from Missouri and the establishment of a new Zion at Nauvoo, Illinois, during the spring of 1839.

The land that once constituted the preemption of Lyman Wight is now owned in fee simple by Mrs. May Robertson of Gallatin, Missouri. The cabin of Lyman Wight still stands, lone survivor of the log cabins that once constituted the town of Adam-Ondi-Ahman.

Above where stood the village is the picturesque elevation warmed by the strata of limestone that compose it. Adown the sides of which grow the wild cactus luxuriant with beautiful yellow bloom, and on the top of which stands a giant hackberry, at the foot of which is a little pile of limestone loosened in the making of a shallow excavation in the top of the hill. That spot is a Mecca to the followers of Joseph Smith, Jr., who are scattered round the world and the public is privileged to call it the grave of Adam if it wants to.

KNIGHTING THE HEROES OF AGRICULTURE

BY A. A. JEFFREY

Missouri's first formal recognition of the distinguished service rendered to the state by men of high character and achievement in the practical pursuit of agriculture occurred January 22, 1925, at Columbia, in the auditorium of the University of Missouri. On that occasion three men, termed the most distinguished farmers in Missouri, were awarded the certificate for Distinguished Service to Agriculture by the University of Missouri College of Agriculture before a large audience of Farmers' Week visitors. The men receiving this recognition were Samuel M. Jordan of Columbia, Nicholas H. Gentry of Sedalia, and Sherman P. Houston of Malta Bend.

With these exercises the College of Agriculture inaugurated a new custom which Dean F. B. Mumford, who presided at the ceremony, explained as follows:

"The ultimate object and purpose of all agricultural colleges is high achievement in the vocation of agriculture. The College of Agriculture recognizes the fact that one of the greatest services to Agriculture is rendered by those great men who through intelligence, broad vision, thrift, and integrity of character have made an outstanding success as farmers. These great spirits have rendered a distinguished service to agriculture as a vocation and to rural civilization. It is often true that such public service goes unrecognized by the public and unrewarded because of the more or less isolated conditions surrounding the industry.

"The College of Agriculture has therefore provided a plan by which honorary recognition may be given to exceptional farmers who have rendered an eminent service to agriculture. These honors are for the present limited to individuals whose chief contribution has been made as a result of their achievements in the practice of agriculture. The general eligibility rules formulated by the Faculty of the College of Agriculture prescribe that

individuals may be rewarded who have developed an exemplary practice or made a useful discovery, or who have contributed notably to the common art of agriculture and thus to a phase of agricultural education. In honoring such men and women the College honors itself and gives its encouragement to the accomplishment of the ultimate objects and purposes of all agricultural effort.

"The College also fully recognizes and appreciates the great services rendered to agriculture by workers in other fields, but for these classes other opportunities for recognition are available, and for the present it is the policy of the College to emphasize those services which are rendered by actual farmers."

Not only success in the business of farming and skill in its practical arts, but also notable service to the commonwealth and the possession of the most admirable traits of character are among the qualifications which will make this honor as highly prized as it is rarely bestowed. Proof of this is at once apparent in the distinguished records of the three men who were the first to receive this recognition.

NICHOLAS HOCKER GENTRY

Nicholas Hocker Gentry was born March 6, 1850, near Sedalia, Missouri. He comes from a long line of distinguished ancestors who have made great contributions to agriculture.

Nicholas Hocker Gentry has rendered eminent service to agriculture through his outstanding achievements in the improvement of domestic animals. He is known all over the world for his remarkable success in the improvement of the Berkshire breed of swine. At the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 animals bred by him won the first six prizes offered. At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904 Gentry's Berkshires won forty-five prizes.

Mr. Gentry was for twenty-five years a member of the State Board of Agriculture, for twenty years a director of the American Royal Live Stock Show, and for many years a director of the American Shorthorn Breeders' Association. During the war he was a member of the Agricultural Advisory Board of the Food Administration.

During a life of 75 years, Mr. Gentry has lived on a farm and demonstrated that under such conditions a cultured honorable gentleman may successfully rear a family, realize worthy ambitions, live by the highest ideals and render distinguished service to his special calling and to society at large.

As a representative of agriculture on many occasions and in many instances he has dignified it as a business and secured for it proper recognition.

Mr. Gentry's notable achievements have brought distinction to his native state, fame to himself, and honor to the cause of agriculture. The College of Agriculture honors itself in giving honorary distinction for high achievement in agriculture to Nicholas Hocker Gentry.

SAMUEL MARTIN JORDAN

Samuel Martin Jordan was born October 7, 1860. He was reared on a farm in Gentry county, Missouri, and educated at Stanberry Academy, afterward teaching successfully in the same institution.

For many years he was a successful farmer at Stanberry. As the result of his achievement as a progressive farmer, he was elected by the State Board of Agriculture to give instruction to farmers in connection with the Farmer's Institute work.

The larger influence of Samuel Martin Jordan upon Missouri agriculture began in 1907 when his interest in the lives of young people led him to organize a boy's encampment on his farm. This was one of the earliest expressions of the present country-wide club organization for farm boys and girls, which is promoted by various agricultural agencies. After several years of service as a public lecturer with the Missouri State Board of Agriculture, he was selected as county agricultural agent of Pettis county, being the first to hold such a position in Missouri. He was the first to make the county the unit in farm organization and he holds the distinction of having organized the first county farm bureau in the United States. His health failing in county agent work, he again became a lecturer for the Missouri State Board of Agriculture and still occupies that position.

Mr. Jordan has been a constructive force in Missouri agriculture. His sincerity of purpose, his analytical mind, and his ability to present agricultural knowledge clearly and effectively to farm audiences have made him a national figure in modern agricultural development.

"Sam" Jordan has been a great force in the progress of agriculture in Missouri. Always his objective has been the welfare of the citizen on the farm. Better soil in which to grow better crops to feed better livestock—these themes have been incidental expressions of his fixed purpose to promote a happier and more prosperous rural life in Missouri. People believe in Sam Jordan and believe in his philosophy. Perhaps no other man has a wider personal acquaintance with Missouri farmers, or has more personal influence upon their general farm practices. Perhaps he is without peer among the agricultural teachers of the whole country who have carried straight to the man on the farm the gospel of improvement in country life and practical methods of farming.

SHERMAN PURDY HOUSTON

Sherman Purdy Houston was born March 24, 1865, at Rushville, Illinois. He was educated at Illinois Wesleyan, receiving his Master's degree in 1887. His great contribution to agriculture has been the development of a successful farm enterprise by progressive, modern methods and exceptional service to his community, to the state, and to the agricultural industry.

Mr. Sherman P. Houston was a member of the Live Stock Advisory Board of the United States Food Administration, a member of the Advisory Committee of the Agricultural Commission in 1918, president of the Missouri Live Stock Producers' Association, member of the executive committee of the Saline County Farm Bureau, president of the Bank of Malta Bend, and author of numerous articles on agriculture. His leadership in agriculture is recognized.

As president of the Missouri Live Stock Association for many years he has led the organization in its efforts to correct the ills which beset the industry it represents and to secure for farmers

proper recognition at the hands of the better organized industries with which they have had to deal. Confidence in him, born of acquaintance with him has placed him in the position of arbitrator many times and his judgment and honesty have been such that his arbitrations and decisions have been received with confidence and good will.

As a member of the Live Stock Advisory Board of the United States Food Administration, and as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Agricultural Commission of 1918 he had a vital part in the efforts to bring the fullest service of agriculture into the world conflict and, at the same time, to safeguard that industry. His efforts since the war have been directed toward the necessary readjustment with a minimum of loss to agriculture and to the nation.

Mr. Houston's success as a farmer furnishes an example of what the introduction of business methods coupled with careful study, good judgment and hard work into a farming enterprise may accomplish.

While he operates his farm and live stock feeding operations on a large scale, his advice and council are sought by and freely given to men of less experience whose operations are more limited. His business judgment and sagacity are such that his methods are followed without question by many.

Moral rectitude and progressiveness on all questions of public or private interest have brought him honor and made it possible for him to render great service.

He has lived his life in the country where his activity has been governed by high ideals of individual citizenship and community welfare, where personal success has followed worthy effort, and where he has become a personality for admiration and emulation.

LITTLE VISITS WITH LITERARY MISSOURIANS

BY KATHARINE CRANMER

ZOE AKINS

A note from Miss Akins informed me she would grant the requested interview at 2:30 on Thursday afternoon, March 27th. When at that hour I reached her apartment I found it to be in one of the spacious older buildings down near Washington Square. One in which the corridors are roomier than a whole suite in some of the newer ones.

A maid admitted me and left me for a few moments in a large drawing room with a charming air of kinship with periods long past. There were high-backed massive gilt chairs covered with rich damask, real andirons in a real fireplace, pairs of two-foot gilt candlesticks on mantel, piano and carved cabinet. Rugs were in soft browns, walls a mellow creamy tan, and lots of bright daylight (not always found in Manhattan apartments) was pouring in through west and north windows.

The maid returned and asked if I would go to Miss Akins' bedroom. This was a welcome suggestion, for already the spell of the place had me and I wanted to explore it further. At the west end of a long southern-exposed room there stood an enormous Louis XVI bed with heavy gilt footposts and a rococo-edged headboard overlaid with glazed chintz. In the midst of this huge bed with its covering of a soft yellow fur "spread" was Zoe Akins in a plum colored negligee. She was holding a spring cold at bay.

Upon her explaining and apologizing for receiving me thus, I suggested that perhaps she didn't feel well enough to talk to me at that time.

"Oh, yes," she said, laughingly, "I can always talk."

A glass of iced ginger ale that was brought to me just then was very welcome on the first fatiguing warm spring day we'd had. It braced me to begin the interview in earnest. I

began by mentioning that the Historical Society and University of Missouri wanted to make use of certain information about living Missouri authors.

"But who's written anything worth talking about except Sara Teasdale?" she interrupted. I mention this more to show her tendency to give high praise to things she feels to be highly important rather than to suggest any tendency to speak disparagingly of minor successes.

When I reminded her of her own writings, she said: "Oh, well, some of my comedies; and a few poems."

"Do you feel that your Missouri environment influenced your early development as a writer?"

"No, I think my childhood at Humansville was not very important. I really didn't come alive, it seems to me, until I went to Monticello Seminary in Illinois when I was twelve years old. And there I came under the influence of Miss Alden, a very stimulating teacher, who taught me English and History. And of course I also felt the fine influence of Miss Haskell, who as you know was a remarkable woman in many ways. I remember them both vividly. Miss Haskell, who told us she was 99 upside down, meaning 66, had white hair; and Miss Alden, although she was probably about Miss Haskell's age, had very dark hair which she wore in a simple little knot at the back of her head."

Then Miss Akins called to the maid to bring her some photographs received from Monticello only the day before. And at her suggestion I sat on the bed beside her while she pointed out the things at Monticello that had meant most to her. One photograph she showed special interest in was of the interior of the little school theatre. But after we had looked through the sheaf of photographs, there was one she couldn't find. Calling to the maid to make a further search, she said: "It's one I particularly want." And when it was found it proved to be the orchard at Monticello with long rows of apple trees in full bloom.

"I was the youngest student there when I entered Monticello," she said. "Fourteen was the usual age for entrance, but some-

how my mother, who in her own girlhood had just missed going to school there because of some last -minute change in plans, had arranged to get me in at twelve. My parents were living in a hotel in St. Louis at that time, and it wasn't a favorable atmosphere for a child of my age, I suppose."

Holding up a photograph of a marble bust of Miss Haskell, Miss Akins said she recalled that Ruckstull had made the portrait while she was at Monticello.

"Perhaps because I was the youngest student," she said, "I always sat at the Principal's table. And there I heard a great deal of very good grown-up conversation, which I enjoyed very much. Older people have always taken an interest in me. I think I got a good deal of spoiling, probably, because I was the youngest girl in school. I had been taught at home, of course, and as the work at Monticello was not conventionalized, we were not so definitely classified as most students are now."

"A beautiful thing that came later, during my school days at Hosmer Hall," she continued, "was that one of my classmates was Emma Bixby, whose father, you know, had a house full of rare manuscripts and art treasures. We had access to all that. When we read of Queen Elizabeth, or other historical personages, we could go out to Mr. Bixby's and see things actually produced during that period."

While she feels that Monticello and its teachers made up her first inspirational influence, Zoe Akins is emphatic in saying that the "most definite influence" afterward was William Marion Reedy. And she feels that was true of all the young writers who came in contact with him. Her first published work appeared in *Reedy's Mirror*.

"Except," she added, with a gesture of pushing something aside, "a little group of poems published in the *Globe-Democrat* when I was fifteen. But I don't attach much importance to that, for I had been much in the company of newspaper people in my own home. Many of my father's friends were newspaper men, and as postmaster of St. Louis and member from Missouri of the Republican National Committee, he was naturally well known to newspaper people."

"How long did you write before getting into print in a more important way?"

"Oh, I sent sonnets and other poems to the *Mirror* regularly from the time I was fifteen until I was seventeen." Then she seemed to have been hit by a pleasing thought, and said: "I've just completed some autobiographical articles for a magazine, and I believe you'd find in them anything you'd want to know about my work. Suppose I let you take the manuscript home with you and look it over. Then you could return it to me."

The articles, read later at my own desk, proved so full of interesting material that it was hard to limit myself to brief excerpts on condensations of occasional paragraphs. But in the following paragraphs there is the result of that attempt to give an abbreviated account of some of the most important experiences related in the articles.

The realization that her love for the theatre was in the nature of a talent for it, came to Zoe Akins one day in a St. Louis park where Sara Teasdale was taking her for a ride in her phaeton. Zoe was saying that she thought to be a poet was very much the finest thing in the world, though it might possibly be more exciting to be a dramatist and have one's plays acted. Sara said: "But you *are* a dramatist!" And thinking it over, Zoe realized that she was.

At fifteen she had written a satire on Greek tragedy, a naively unauthorized dramatization of Kipling's "Without Benefit of Clergy," and a labor play for Julia Marlowe called "The End of the Strike." Miss Marlowe saw sufficient literary promise in the script of this play to become interested in the young playwright, and Zoe Akins says that Julia Marlowe's friendship and influence during the next fifteen years were a constant spur to her imagination. Not to her ambition, for she says she is afraid of ambition; that it is as dangerous to art as to love; and that one must try only to create beauty.

She says that in her literary expression, either poetry or drama, beauty is her need. But not necessarily the traditionally beautiful things. She feels that Shaw's plays are as notable for their beauty as for their wit and wisdom or for their dramatic quality. And she regards humor an important essential of drama.

Many of her early manuscripts submitted to *Reedy's Mirror* came back accompanied by charming notes from Mr. Reedy. One day one of these asked her to call. She did so, and after a conversation which touched upon such widely varying topics as Milton's Prose, Ibsen, Shakespeare and Julia Marlowe, Mr. Reedy gave her, in addition to her own manuscript, a copy of "The Shropshire Lad." She says he afterwards told her he laughed for half an hour after that conversation ended. And not least among the charming attributes of Zoe Akins is her possession of that rare ability to apply her sense of humor to herself.

Once while her parents were away on an eastern trip the youthful Zoe Akins embarked upon a three-weeks' career as a member of the Odeon Stock Company in St. Louis. And during part of that time was chagrined because no roles minor enough for her were available. But Mr. Reedy, hearing of this and of other activities which convinced him of her earnestness, encouraged her by giving her assignments for musical and dramatic criticisms for the *Mirror*.

At seventeen she set out for New York with the manuscripts of two plays, a pocket full of poems, and a determination to act. She was given a very minor role in Julia Marlowe's company, but after rehearsals without Miss Marlowe being present, she found herself so self-conscious when actually appearing before an audience with the star that her career ended after one day's performance. But not until she had added to her information about practical theatrical matters.

Encouraged by a friendly letter of rejection from S. S. McClure, Zoe called on him. He talked to her, as her father might have done, about the importance of wearing rubbers and eating proper food. Then he turned her over to his assistant, Willa Cather. Though Miss Cather was not altogether encouraging to the young poet about her future as a writer, she made such a deep impression on her that the memory of the meeting remains vivid. For years Miss Cather was one of Zoe Akins' exacting but highly regarded critics and is now one of her favorite authors.

"Before I went to New York," Miss Akins said to me, "I

had seen everything produced in St. Louis, had been behind the scenes, and had managed to read my plays to visiting stars. And I had read practically every available published play. Besides, I had kept up with the New York theatrical season, reading all criticisms, and knew the plot of every play put on there, even though I had no chance to see most of them, and some of them lasted for only a few performances."

She returned home from New York unwillingly, but wrote many plays, and kept in touch with all the theatrical life offered in St. Louis.

Not long afterward she went to Chicago to visit the Sotherns, but became ill there, and Miss Marlowe's physician prescribed California as necessary for her recovery from incipient tuberculosis. After a year in California she returned to St. Louis with health restored. Her first work was "Papa," a play which she describes as really three one-act plays.

There were five long years of alternating encouragement and discouragement about the possibility of producing this play in New York. In November, 1916, it was produced in Los Angeles with splendid success. Finally, in March or April of 1919, it appeared on Broadway, and lasted just five days!

Her book of poems, "Interpretations," had been brought out in London in 1912 by Grant Richards. I told Miss Akins about writing an indignant letter to a New York columnist who had printed a lovely lyric from this book in his column without giving its authorship. The poem was "I am the wind." It has been widely copied, and set to music, also.

During the trying years when "Papa" was being brunted about, Miss Akins was becoming thoroughly acquainted with the theatrical world on Broadway. She had been in New York long enough to know the managers; and better still, they knew her. Asked by Arthur Hopkins to write a play, the ultimate result was two plays instead of one. But not immediately. The plot for "Daddy's Gone A-Hunting" sprang full-fledged into her mind during this conversation with Mr. Hopkins. He had just turned down several suggested plots as undesirable, but when she outlined this newly conceived one, he said: "Good, I'll produce

that!" But it was three years before the play was really finished and produced. In the meantime "Declassée" had been completed and had a successful year's run.

She wrote "Declassée" with Ethel Barrymore in mind for the leading woman. Her literary agent took two acts of this play to Miss Barrymore's manager before the third act had been typed. And before he read the second act he had sent a fat check around the corner to the agent's office. But the agent returned it, saying that unless Ethel Barrymore agreed to act in the play, the check would not be accepted. And Miss Barrymore read it, one act at a time, with a ball game sandwiched in between acts two and three. And again the telephones were busy as her approval was telephoned from manager to agent and from agent to author. Then came success. Exciting. Immediate. And lasting. "Declassée" both opened and closed the season of 1919-20 at the famous Empire Theatre on Broadway and had a two-years' successful run "on the road."

"Foot-Loose," an adaptation, in March, 1920, "Daddy's Gone A-Hunting" in August, 1921, "The Varying Shore" in December, 1921, "The Texas Nightingale," November, 1922, and "The Moonflower," an adaptation from the Hungarian, January, 1924, are subsequent plays of Zoe Akins which have had New York production. The leading women in these plays were, respectively, Emily Stevens, Marjorie Rambeau, Elsie Ferguson, Jobyna Howland, and again Elsie Ferguson.

Our conversation was interrupted by a telephone call from her literary agent asking for the revised third act which Miss Akins had just written for "The Moonflower." There was hurried consultation with the swiftly-typing secretary and over the phone with the manager at the theatre where the play was running, and in a little while the manuscript was finished and on its way by special messenger to reach the theatre during rehearsal.

"The critics haven't been very kind to this play," she said to me. "They particularly object to certain 'flowery speeches'; but if they only knew how much less flowery I've made it than the Hungarian had it!"

I reminded her of having met her in St. Louis several years ago, probably fifteen, at the house of a mutual friend, and of her remark to us that she intended some day to write a play called "The Wrong Mrs. Allright." I asked if she remembered that.

"No, I don't remember a thing about it," she laughed. "But it's not a bad title, is it? I'll keep it in mind."

"Did you write much as a little child?"

"No, I think the first thing worth remembering was an essay I wrote during my first month at Monticello. Its style attracted Miss Alden's interest, and what she had to say of it drew the attention of the older girls to me. But I always thought I could write, and always thought I could act. And I had a certain love for books. And in my family there had been a certain interest in writing. My grandfather's brother, Colonel Duff Green, was the owner of one of the first St. Louis newspapers."

"Of course you still write poetry?"

"Oh, yes. One writes poetry, whether or no, when a thought comes that demands poetic expression. And I'm writing a novel. But on the whole, I think my gift is chiefly theatrical."

"And just what, may I ask, I said, nearing the end of my questioning, "does Missouri mean to you as you look at it from afar?"

"Well, I always think of St. Louis as a sort of island of culture in a sea of crudeness. Chicago, for example, is so crude and vulgar, and in comparison with St. Louis, so unatmospheric. And even the small towns in Missouri have an atmosphere created by a former style of living. The negroes give it a colorful touch, and it's far enough away from the conventional north and east to be individual. Missouri is rather far from what I call foreign and malign influences, and people growing up there are likely to acquire more individuality than in the East."

After a moment she laughed and said: "Some of the New York critics have made light of what they call my fondness for writing plays about the English aristocracy from the point of view of St. Louis. Well, that's all right. It happens that many

of my best friends are English people. My first book was published in England, and the English critics have been kinder to me than the American ones."

"There is a very attractive atmosphere in St. Louis," she went on. "And you know Henry James once said that only three cities in America had a social tradition—Boston, Baltimore, and St. Louis. And of course, our one really great modern writer, Mark Twain, came from Missouri.

"Missouri topography is beautiful, too. Its two rivers are impressive * * * And the Florissant Valley, you know, induced the French to settle there because of its beauty. The French tradition in St. Louis has given it a distinct charm. There's a German tradition, too—a homely one, but honest.

"And the Ozarks have great natural charm. It seems to me that so much of the American scenery lacks casual beauty. The thing in Paris that breaks my heart is such a thing as a bright blue cart full of carrots. And the old cottages of the peasants. Things of the soil. People would say to me: 'Isn't Versailles beautiful?' Well, yes; but it means nothing to me. It might be anywhere. Even in Chicago. Money can create a certain kind of beauty, but it is not an outgrowth of a people in an environment." Then she described the "made" beauty of the estates of certain rich Chicagoans. The "windy city's" crudeness is irritating to her. It seems to her to have nothing of the social dignity of St. Louis.

"I like that aristocratic tradition in St. Louis. If I had the choice, I think I would pick St. Louis in preference to any other city to grow up in, with the possible exception of Boston.

"And here's another good thing about St. Louis! They don't make so much fuss over people who write or paint, or do things of that sort, as they do in Chicago. And that is as it should be. Because the thing to do is to let them alone. Then if their desire to do creative work is strong enough to persist in spite of the indifference or discouragement of their friends, it will prove itself in results."

I was having such a good time that it was hard to leave, but it seemed to me I must be going. So away I went, but there

were friendly words following me all the way as I went to the door and out through the hall. She hoped she'd see me again, and I hoped I'd see her on her western lecture tour. And so I left Zoe Akins there in her charming apartment full of the "thrillingly old things" which she says she hunts for whenever she has a room to furnish.

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN MISSOURI

BY THOMAS S. BARCLAY

CHAPTER III

RADICAL UNIONISTS AND CONSERVATIVE UNIONISTS

"Much of the ill feeling here as elsewhere has been caused by the inflamed language of the partisan press and of stump orators, who are irrepressible. The impression was strong with good men that Radicals could commit crime and violence without fear of arrest and punishment when the Conservatives were harassed by forcible arrests without warrant of law by the militia."

W. T. Sherman.

"The constitutional, law-abiding Conservative Unionists of Missouri are enlisted in the same great cause which now demands the exercise of all your energy and courage. We are organized in almost every part of the state and fully expect to fight the great battle for the Constitution. The Radical faction in Missouri is but a part of the Radical faction in Congress."

Edward Bates.

The process of organizing into a definite party all the opponents of Radicalism was undoubtedly stimulated by the agitation and tension throughout the State to which the ousting ordinance and the enforcement of the test oath had given rise. Although the Verandah Hall Convention did not formally attempt to construct a new party, it was plain that both Radicals and Conservatives believed that this would be the ultimate result.¹ The Conservative leaders contemplated the early formation of an anti-Radical organization and provisions were made for its expansion and development.² At the Convention a State Executive Com-

¹*Democrat*, Nov. 3, 5, 1865; *Statesman*, Nov. 3, 1865.

²*Statesman*, June 8, 1866.

mittee had been appointed consisting of fifteen members, six from St. Louis, and one from each of the nine Congressional districts.³

Under the leadership of the St. Louis members, the Committee formulated a plan for a state wide organization.⁴ In addition to the Executive Committee, each Congressional district had a steering committee, consisting of one representative from each county within the district.⁵ By the end of 1865, the framework had been constructed, the committees named, and permanent headquarters established.⁶ This work was endorsed in many sections of the State.⁷

The party of opposition to Radicalism became known early in 1866 as the Conservative Union party. It was composed of those elements which, for almost a year, had been the bitter foes of the new Constitution. An analysis of its supporters revealed, first, a considerable number of former Benton Democrats of the type of Blair, Able, and Glover who had been strong supporters of the Union; second, a small but impressive body of former Whigs, led by Rollins, Switzler, and Broadhead; third, a group of active southern adherents and sympathizers, derisively designated by their opponents during the war as "Snowflakes," among whom were found L. V. Bogy and A. G. P. Garesche; finally, some early Radicals who had broken with their party over the adoption of the Constitution.⁸

The Conservative Union party was in existence for about a year and it marked a necessary transition in the political rearrangements in Missouri during the years 1865-72. It was the definite policy of its leaders to emphasize the ideas of Union and of loyalty. While they no doubt expected and relied upon Democratic support, it would have been political suicide in 1866

³A large majority of the Committee were well known Unionists.

⁴It was agreed that seven should constitute a quorum to transact all business. The chairman was E. B. Brown, a Union general, the secretary, A. R. Smith, *Statesman*, Nov. 24, 1865.

⁵*Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1865.

⁶*Republican*, Jan. 8, 1866.

⁷*Statesman*, Jan. 2, 1866; *Conservator*, Jan. 26, 1866.

⁸Complaints were made to Johnson that ex-Radicals who supported his administration were ignored or placed in subordinate positions by those in St. Louis who controlled the Conservative organization, especially in the recommendations for federal offices in the State. A. L. Gilstrap to Johnson, May 26, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

to have merged the Conservative forces with the weak and ineffective Democracy. Such a procedure would have instantly raised questions of "loyalty," and would have placed on the defensive all those who opposed the Radical regime. Charges of "treason" would likewise have been raised which, however absurd, would none the less have enabled the Radicals to carry the campaign into the enemy's country.

The attention of politicians and of people did not center entirely upon State affairs. The situation in national politics was becoming acute. Johnson's reconstruction policy had received the early and continued approbation of Missouri Democrats.⁹ The veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill on February 19, 1866, and the other actions of the president had a significant bearing on the political situation in Missouri. The widening of the breach between the Radicals in Congress and the chief executive but made sharper in Missouri the division between Radical Unionist and Conservative Unionist. It also gave considerable impetus to the latter group in their effort to build a state organization.

The Democratic state committee, which for some time had maintained a precarious existence, now displayed evidences of renewed activity and a desire to cooperate with the Conservative forces.¹⁰ On the day Johnson's veto was made known, the Democratic committee issued a call for a meeting on February 22.¹¹ To this gathering were invited all who opposed Radicalism in Congress and in Missouri. Its procedure varied little from scores of similar Johnson meetings which had been held under Conservative auspices.¹² While no direct indication was given as to the future policy of the Democracy, the general result of the

⁹Hogan to Johnson, May 17, 1865, *Johnson Papers*. He wrote on June 19, "the old Democracy of this region not only accepts but fully endorses your course. They regard it as ominous of a full return of the reign of law and the rights of the masses," *ibid.* Also, L. V. Roberts to Johnson, Sept. 30, 1865. Nathan Ranney to Johnson, Jan. 9, 1866, *ibid.*

¹⁰The early opinion and hope of the Radicals had been that the "old Copperhead Democracy" would be unwilling to surrender its party name and individuality to a new organization.

¹¹*Republican*, Feb. 19, 1866.

¹²For example, see *Democrat*, Jan. 3, 1866; *Republican*, Jan. 3, 1866.

meeting was encouraging to the Conservatives."¹⁷ At a large Unionist rally held shortly after, views were expressed by Glover, Gantt, and Broadhead in regard both to the national and to the state situation with which no Democrat could disagree.¹⁸

The quick response of Conservative opinion to Johnson's policy was noted with no little satisfaction by the leaders. "The Conservative Union men of Missouri are determined to stand by the President in every conflict," wrote the secretary of the Executive Committee. "The veto message and speeches made recently by the President at receptions of committees and delegations have relieved these loyal anti-Radical men of our State from their depressed condition Throughout the State everywhere the people are moving to endorse him and nowhere has he stauncher friends than in Missouri."¹⁹ The President received direct assurances of support, and optimistic predictions were made that four-fifths of the people of Missouri approved his administration, and would show it despite the embarrassing restrictions of the oath of loyalty.²⁰

As Johnson's policy of opposition to Congress developed, the Radicals made no attempt to conceal their hostility toward the chief executive. The veto was regarded by Radicals in the State as striking proof that Johnson had abandoned the party and henceforth all allegiance to him must be renounced.²¹ The disagreement between the Legislative and Executive branches furnished a new issue which was eagerly seized. There was a closing of the Radical ranks and a consolidation of some forces which had been inclined to stray from the fold, notably the Germans who now joined in full hue and cry against Johnson. A running fire of criticism was directed against him from many sections of the State.²²

¹⁷*Republican*, Feb. 23, 1866. The Democrats of St. Louis County expressed the desire that their county organization be regarded as a part of the State organization provided for at the Verandah Hall Convention.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1866; *Tribune*, March 9, 1866; *Statesman*, March 23, 1866.

¹⁹A. J. Smith to F. P. Blair, Jr., March 14, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

²⁰Charles Gibson to Johnson, April 10, 1866, *ibid.* Also, letters from other local politicians of Missouri, April 1866, *ibid.*

²¹*Democrat*, Feb. 21, 1866; *Sentinel*, March 30, 1866.

²²For typical statements, *Jefferson City Times*, *Hillsboro Leader*, *St. Charles Cosmos*, *Union Progress*, *Washington News*, *Hannibal Courier*, *St. Joseph Union*, *Ironton Forge*, reprinted in *Statesman*, March 9, 1866. The Radicals of Greene

With party lines thus drawn, the work of organization of the Conservatives steadily progressed. Efforts were made to effect in every county an organization whose "only platform now is a cordial support of Johnson's policy."¹⁷ The plan of campaign as developed in the spring of 1866 was to augment the existing machinery by the creation in each township of a Johnson Club. The membership of these groups included those who opposed both the emerging plan of Congressional reconstruction and the existing government in Missouri.¹⁸

The framework of the party structure was completed by the summer of 1866.¹⁹ W. F. Switzler and W. P. Hale rendered notable services to the cause by their work of organization in central and in northern Missouri.²⁰ In the southwestern section, a Radical stronghold, members of the Executive Committee labored to obtain a foothold for the Conservatives.²¹ A state convention was called, composed of "substantial and intelligent citizens," to agree upon a course of action in regard to the coming election.²² To arouse enthusiasm and to stimulate hope, Blair departed on a tour, speaking in eighteen counties in northern central Missouri.²³

This journey probably eclipsed in public interest anything that had occurred since the war. Blair had winningly agreed to give four months to a canvass of the State: May and June, September and October. "I think we shall certainly carry this State in the fall," he wrote to his father, "and it is almost a conceded thing that I am to be a Senator in case of our success."²⁴

The vicissitudes of political fortune in a border state are admirably illustrated by Blair's career during the years 1861-67.

County declared "that the late acts of Andrew Johnson have been such as to utterly destroy our faith in his integrity, and that we henceforth utterly abjure all political allegiance to him whatsoever." *History of Greene County* p. 497.

¹⁷*Herald*, March 16, 1866. A poll of the press indicated that 48 papers supported Johnson, while 49 opposed him, with the attitude of 4 unknown.

¹⁸*Statesman*, April 13, 1866.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, June 8, 1866; *Lincoln County Herald*, July 27, 1866; *St. Joseph Herald*, June 16, 1866.

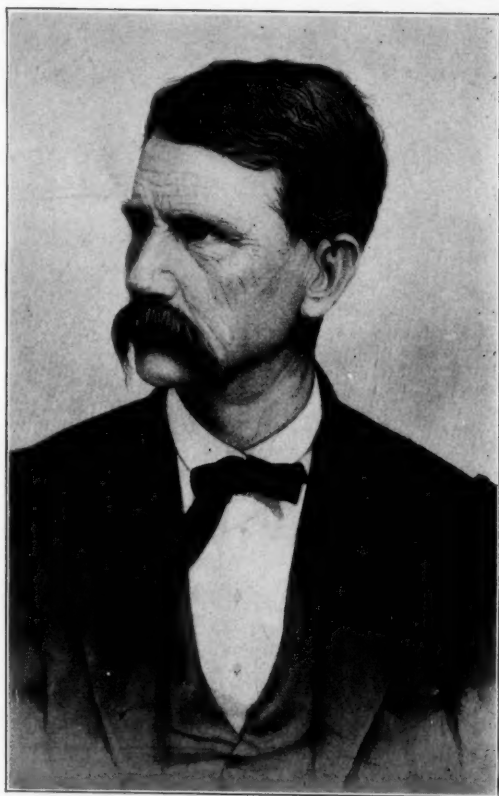
²⁰*Shelbina Gazette*, quoted in *ibid.*, April 6, 1866; *Herald*, April 23, 1866.

²¹*Statesman*, May 11, 1866.

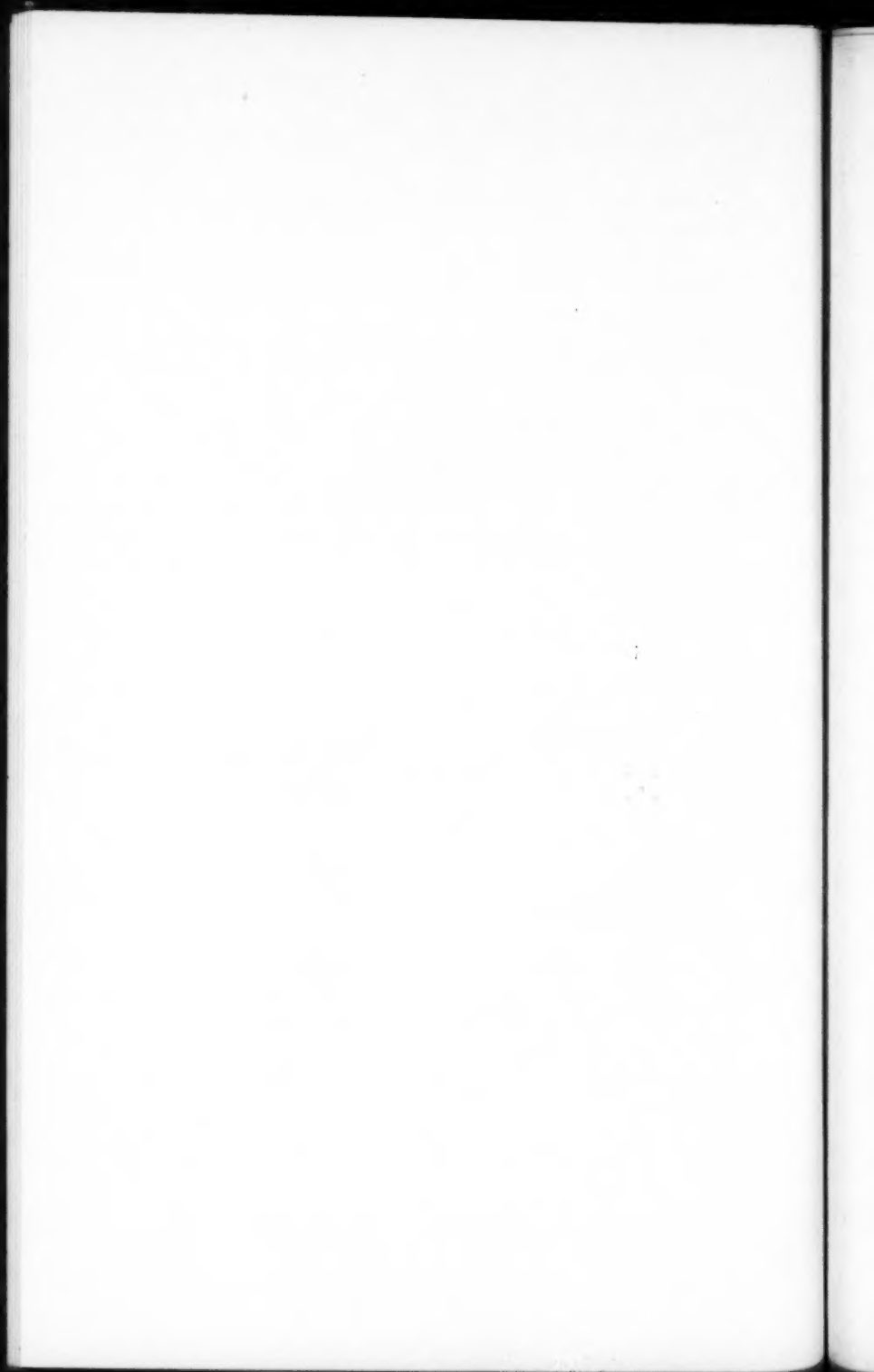
²²*Ibid.*, April 13, 1866.

²³*Ibid.*, May 4, 1866.

²⁴F. P. Blair, Jr., to F. P. Blair, Sr., May 2, 1866; *Johnson Papers*.



FRANK P. BLAIR



Many of his friends and supporters of 1861 were six years later his notorious foes, while in the crowds that cheered him in 1866 were hundreds who in 1861 would have welcomed with enthusiasm the news of his defeat and downfall.⁷¹ Blair possessed rare physical courage and he needed all of it before his labors were ended. The revolver and the bowie knife had not ceased to play their persuasive part in some sections of Missouri. In the large crowds which gathered to hear his speeches, some of which lasted three hours, were a considerable number of armed men. Threats were made against Blair, and in some instances serious disorder and violence interrupted the meetings.⁷² Blair's speeches in substance were not at all violent, but in his picturesque references to his opponents he exercised to the full his native gifts of invective, ridicule, and sarcasm.

But it was never his policy to shrink from impending dangers and his courage won the reluctant respect even of hostile crowds. "We had a very good time and a large audience," he wrote to a close personal and political friend. "The Rads I found had made many threats but they did not come to time. The people came out in their majesty and the Dutch did not feel themselves in condition to carry out their threats. I was interrupted once or twice by them but I took Old Bullion's (Thomas H. Benton) plan and insulted them in the grossest terms; the people shouted and cheered and they quieted down very quickly."⁷³

Blair's speeches were devoted chiefly to State issues, although he made many pleas in support of President Johnson. It had become the policy of the Conservatives emphatically to reaffirm that the test oath would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.⁷⁴

⁷¹"The seething caldron boils on. Men who ten years ago were known as abolitionists are now called copperheads, while a class of men who six years ago were violently pro-slavery are now rabidly radical," quoted in *Herald*, April 4, 1866.

⁷²Blair had been warned not to speak at Warrensburg and threats against his life had been made. It took him from one o'clock to six to finish his address and during the afternoon one person was killed. *History of Johnson County*, pp. 368-69. Huston Crittenden, *The Warrensburg Speech of Frank P. Blair*, in *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. XX, pp. 101-104. (1925.) Also, *Republican*, May 18, 1866, *Statesman*, June 5, 1866. At Glasgow, a serious riot occurred when he was speaking, *Daily News*, June 2, 1866.

⁷³Blair to Rollins, May 23, 1866, *Rollins Papers*.

All the opponents of the oath felt a singular concern in the Cummings case because the oath of loyalty was commonly and correctly regarded as the key to the Radical arch. A decision favorable to the Conservatives would be a signal achievement in the downfall of Radicalism in Missouri.

Impressive and eloquent onslaughts upon the oath were made by Blair during his canvass. With persistent reiteration, he advanced the idea that the Court had actually decided that the oath was unconstitutional, which information he had received from one of the judges.³¹ Blair made no distinction between the oath for the professional classes and for voters, and assumed that the entire section would be declared void. He was thus able to advance the pleasing theory that all, save those who had actually borne arms against the Government, should take the oath and attempt to register.³²

Blair's energy and extraordinary activity were of great value to the Conservative cause,³³ and aroused in Radical ranks alarm and exasperation.³⁴ The reports which reached Conservative headquarters in St. Louis were most cheering to the State Committee.³⁵ Drake entered the arena as the champion of Radical policies but he prudently refused to meet Blair in joint debate. Fletcher, Rodman, and Smith, the lieutenant-governor, followed discreetly in Blair's wake.³⁶ They announced that all laws, but particularly

³⁰The Supreme Court had adjourned in May with the order that the Cummings case be held under advisement and continued to the next term.

³¹"I am here today to tell you," he said in a speech at Macon, May 14, "that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the Constitution (Test Oath) is invalid and void. I was told so myself by one of the Judges of the Supreme Court at Washington," quoted in *Conservator*, May 19, 1866. Blair was in Washington at the time the case was argued, see Smith to Blair, March 14, 1866, *Johnson Papers*. The information was alleged to have been given him by Justice Grier, *Herald*, Sept. 21, 1866. Assuming that Blair was correct, it can be noted that at present the Court exercises every care to prevent advance information of its decisions from becoming known. It would be considered highly indiscreet and improper to violate the rule of secrecy regarding impending decisions. This policy apparently, was not strictly observed prior to or during the period under discussion. For examples of the earlier practice, see Charles Warren: *The Supreme Court in United States History*, (Boston, 1922), vol. II, pp. 544-46; vol. III, p. 239, note.

³²*Statesman*, June 29, 1866; *Conservator*, May 19, 1866; *Herald*, May 24, 1866; *Democrat*, June 6, 1866.

³³*Statesman*, May 25, 1866; *Conservator*, May 19, June 2, 1866.

³⁴*Democrat*, June 1, 4, 13, 1866.

³⁵L. V. Bogy to Rollins, May 21, 1866, *Rollins Papers*.

³⁶*Ibid.*, June 13, 1866.

the Registry Law, would be enforced and Smith predicted that the people of Kansas and Iowa would emigrate to Missouri "to put down the Copperheads."³⁷

The governors of Illinois and of Iowa, R. M. Oglesby and W. M. Stone, were brought to the State to debate with Conservative leaders, notably with Broadhead and with Rollins. "Governor Stone is waking up the Copperhead snakes in the northern and central part of this State," proclaimed a Radical editor.³⁸ The unsettled condition of political affairs was reflected by the disorder at these meetings.³⁹

Not all the attention of Conservative orators, however, was centered on histrionic exhibitions designed to prove the wickedness of their adversaries. As the campaign progressed, a plan was evolved, the chief purpose of which was to counteract the effects of the Registry Act. By the terms of the law, the names of all applicants rejected by the registrars were placed on a separate list but those thus made ineligible were not definitely prohibited from voting. The judges of election were required to receive all such ballots, mark them "rejected," and keep them separate from the ballots of registered voters.⁴⁰ In preparing the certificate of election these rejected voters obviously would not be counted.

Firm in the belief that the oath of loyalty would be declared void, it was recommended that defeated Conservative candidates contest the election of their opponents. The state courts, it was contended, would be forced to recognize the decision of the higher federal tribunal concerning the invalidity of the oath. In the recount of each contested election, the votes of those whose names appeared on the rejected lists because of an unconstitutional oath, would be considered as legal votes cast for the Conservative candidates. Thus, the work of what Blair characterized as an unscrupulous minority would be effectively checked.⁴¹

³⁷*Herald*, June 7, 1866.

³⁸*Springfield Patriot*, June 22, 1866.

³⁹*Statesman*, June 15, 1866.

⁴⁰Registry Act, sec. 21.

⁴¹This plan is explained in detail in the *Statesman*, May 11, June 29, 1866.

In the meantime, concrete and unwelcome evidences of Conservative success were forced upon the Radicals. The municipal elections in the spring of 1866 saw both parties enter the contest as regular organizations. Commencing with the St. Louis election in April, the Radicals suffered startling reverses in a score of city campaigns.⁴² The test oath seemed powerless to stem the tide of defeat.⁴³ The early Conservative enthusiasm cooled notably when it was realized that the Registry Act had not been in effect. Radicals sought consolation in the reflection that their inner lines were still secure.⁴⁴

The municipal disasters, however, demonstrated to Radical leaders the dangers of overconfidence, and the necessity of organization and of partisan solidarity.⁴⁵ To encourage the wavering it was announced that if civil laws were not obeyed the martial law would be proclaimed.⁴⁶ The Radical Executive Committee renewed its activity and hurriedly formulated a plan for a state organization for the spread of party truth and light. In addition to the usual county and township committees, an innovation was introduced in the form of vigilance committees and associations. Their chief purpose, apparently, was to act as itinerant and unofficial boards in each community and to render gratuitous "assistance" to the registration officials.⁴⁷ All good Radicals were called upon to aid the Registrars,⁴⁸ a suggestion which lent itself to various interpretations. In northern Missouri, "Radical Congress Clubs" served to bring together party workers.⁴⁹ In the southwest, meetings and rallies were held for the edification of the rank and file.⁵⁰

The quarrels between Conservatives and Radicals were carried beyond the borders of the State. Leaders of the former party

⁴²*Democrat*, April 4, 1866; *Statesman*, April 13, 1866.

⁴³*Republican*, May 9, 1866.

⁴⁴*Dispatch*, April 8, 1866.

⁴⁵*Democrat*, April 16, 1866. "Organization is necessary to facilitate the action of a numerical majority. Without this, how can we expect to cope with the organized enemies of Radicalism?" quoted from *Sentinel*, June 1, 1866.

⁴⁶Speech of Fletcher, *Democrat*, May 11, 1866.

⁴⁷*Democrat*, May 16, 1866.

⁴⁸*Sentinel*, June 22, 1866.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, April 20, 27, 1866.

⁵⁰*St. Louis News*, June 10, 1866.

began to urge Johnson to use the patronage to assist in his cause as well as in theirs. Early in the administration, it had been suggested to him that Frank P. Blair would make an admirable Secretary of War, and these suggestions were renewed at intervals.⁵¹ There was also a bitter and long standing quarrel over the post-mastership of St. Louis, held by P. S. Foy, a Lincoln appointee, against whom the Radicals had waged war for months. William McKee, the proprietor of the leading Radical newspaper in Missouri, the *Democrat*, was interested in securing for his brother this coveted position, and had enlisted in the cause both Senators and the Congressional delegation.⁵² But Johnson, even so early as September, 1865, gave no encouragement to the Radicals, in this or in similar cases.⁵³ Blair, Rollins, and other Conservative leaders supported Foy.⁵⁴ The president would not heed those who besought him to use the patronage to aid his cause.⁵⁵ The government printing had not been withdrawn from two St. Louis newspapers which were notoriously hostile to the administration.⁵⁶ There were a few removals, however, before the summer of 1866.⁵⁷

In March, Johnson stimulated Conservative hopes by renominating Foy for a second term and Blair to be a collector of internal revenue. It was reported that "no man backed by Henderson or Brown, the Radical senators, would be appointed."⁵⁸ That no one would be confirmed by the Senate without the approval of these senators was even more evident. Foy was immediately rejected.⁵⁹ Blair's nomination was favorably reported by Fessen-

⁵¹Rollins to Johnson, June 7, 1865, Glover, Broadhead, and others to Johnson, Feb. 25, 1866, thirty-one members of the General Assembly to Johnson, March 5, 1866, *Johnson Papers*. It is to be doubted whether even in 1865, the Senate would have confirmed Blair's nomination although a short recess appointment would have been possible.

⁵²*Dispatch*, Sept. 7, 1865.

⁵³*Tribune*, Oct. 10, 1865.

⁵⁴Rollins to Johnson, Sept. 2, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

⁵⁵Dunning, *Reconstruction*, p. 72.

⁵⁶The *Democrat* and the *Westliche Post* had enjoyed many favors, especially the latter which had received the sanction and protection of Stanton. A. J. Smith to Johnson, Feb. 27, April 5, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

⁵⁷*Statesman*, Feb. 23, 1866; *Conservator*, June 2, 1866; Willard Saulsbury to Johnson, April 18, 1866; Montgomery Blair to Edmund Cooper, July 3, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

⁵⁸*Herald*, March 20, 1866.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

den, but on May 4, after a debate in which it was charged that he had received the appointment to combat Radicalism in Missouri, the nomination was rejected by a vote of 21 to 8.⁸⁰ Blair's cousin and former political ally, B. Gratz Brown, was said to be "malignant in his opposition to Blair."⁸¹ Blair evidently expected such a verdict. "I have lost all interest in the office and do not want the place," he told his father.⁸²

With the reorganization of the Cabinet in July, 1866, Postmaster General Randall assumed the leadership in the new policy of distinguishing sharply between the friends and the enemies of the administration. Many who occupied subordinate positions were removed.⁸³ In Missouri the new plan was quickly inaugurated. "The Internal Revenue department has been prettily well cleaned out," wrote an observer, "while postmasters are dropping like the leaves of autumn. Let the good work go on."⁸⁴ Conservative leaders were asked to recommend "suitable persons" for federal positions, and the removals continued through the summer.⁸⁵ Certain leaders in St. Louis advised that no important appointments be made until after the November elections when "a more judicial opinion can be formed of the persons to fill the places."⁸⁶ Johnson saw no necessity for waiting. In his partisan and unrestrained speech at St. Louis, on September 8, he declared, "If you will

⁸⁰*News*, May 5, 1866.

⁸¹*Herald*, April 15, 1866. W. T. Sherman, who seldom ventured into politics, wrote to his brother, "I want you and all my friends in the Senate to know that I would be much gratified to know that it had received the strong confirmation of the Senate," to John Sherman, March 2, 1866, *Sherman Papers*.

⁸²To F. P. Blair, Sr., May 2, 1866, *Johnson Papers*. He recommended an ingenious plan by which a readjustment of all the revenue districts would permit the president to make a number of recess appointments and eliminate certain Radicals.

⁸³C. R. Fish, *The Civil Service and the Patronage*, (New York, 1905), pp. 189-90.

⁸⁴*Conservator*, July 21, 1866. For the situation in the country at large, see D. M. Dewitt, *Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson*, (New York, 1903), p. 108. With reference to the situation in Missouri, see O. H. Browning to Rollins, Sept. 28, 1866, O. H. Browning to C. H. Green, Sept. 29, 1866, *Rollins Papers*.

⁸⁵*Statesman*, August 3, 1866.

⁸⁶O. D. Filley to Montgomery Blair, July 30, 1866, *Johnson Papers*. See also, Bates to Johnson, July 12, 1866; S. T. Glover to Johnson, August 1, 1866; George Knapp to Johnson, August 3, 1866, *ibid*.

stand by me in this action I will kick them out. I will kick them out just as fast as I can."⁶¹

As the time approached for the Conservative State Convention, it was clear that the support of the Democrats was certain. The spasmodic attempts made during the early winter of 1866 to arouse enthusiasm in a separate organization had failed. Most of the former leaders of the Democracy, whether Benton, as Phelps, or anti-Benton, as Bogy, had become staunch advocates of the Conservative cause and there were no indications whatever that they would support a revival of the Democratic party. The rank and file had no choice but to join their fortunes with the Conservatives; a divided opposition to Radicalism could accomplish nothing. The superior Conservative organization and leadership made it almost imperative that the Democracy surrender, at least temporarily, its separate identity.

One attempt, however, was made to reconstruct the Democratic organization. This occurred in Boone county and threatened momentarily to spread elsewhere. While the chief purpose of the reorganization was ostensibly to uphold the national administration, its real motive was to secure the county offices and patronage.⁶² It was the fear of the Conservatives that the movement, if successful in Boone, would encourage elsewhere similar dissention and wreck all hopes of success.⁶³ Pressure was immediately brought to bear upon those who sponsored the movement. Rollins made an eloquent plea for one party of opposition; the local Democratic leaders present at the public meeting agreed to unite with the Conservative forces to overthrow the enemy.⁶⁴ The news was

⁶¹Quoted in Edward McPherson, *History of Reconstruction*, (Washington, 1875), p. 140.

⁶²See speech of Blair at Rocheport, *Statesman*, May 25, 1866, also, Blair to Rollins, May 27, 1866, *Rollins Papers*.

⁶³*Ibid.*, May 18, 1866, "Division is defeat. If we conquer this Radical army we must do it unitedly. This is a fight between Radicals and Conservatives."

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, June 1, 1866. "Democrats everywhere ought to be satisfied with the prospect and the work being done by the temporary organization known as the Conservative Union party. It is doing all that can be done and no Democratic organization could well accomplish any more," quoted in *People's Tribune*, May 23, 1866. "That former Democrats realized the political imprudence of

sent out through the State that it had been decided to fight the battle in Conservative ranks."

The Conservative Unionists assembled in July. The purpose of the Convention was to state grievances and to formulate plans. The attendance was large and eminently respectable; "for numbers, individual worth, popular estimation, and general weight of character, it has never been surpassed in this State," wrote a veteran leader.¹² Indeed, the personnel of the Convention and the earlier Verandah Hall meeting was quite similar. The social status of the delegates was admitted by opponents to be of the best but in political character, "it was a collection of driftwood, a floating together of all the political debris of the State."¹³

The proceedings of the Convention were not marked by new or startling developments. Various speakers once more lamented what they designated as the downfall of civil liberty and of constitutional government both in State and in Nation. The original principles of the party were reaffirmed and the president's policy approved.¹⁴ Although concerned primarily with the situation in Missouri, strong endorsement was given the plan for the National Union Convention which was to be a demonstration in favor of Johnson.¹⁵ A delegation was selected to represent the State at Philadelphia. Due recognition was accorded the various forces comprising the fusionist party, especially the old-line Whig and Benton Democrat elements.¹⁶ Finally, the campaign was placed under the charge and general direction of a steering committee of five, Glover, Gantt, Broadhead, Bogy and Blair.¹⁷

having the old leaders or party names in a very conspicuous place is evident," Bogy to Rollins, May 21, 1866, *Rollins Papers*.

¹²"It is hard to put life into that which is nowhere a living body and against whose dead carcass the enmity and hatred of thousands is uncontrollably bitter," *Republican*, June 6, 1866.

¹³Bates to Johnson, July 12, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

¹⁴*St. Louis News*, July 5, 1866.

¹⁵*Statesman*, July 13, 1866.

¹⁶*Republican*, July 7, 1866.

¹⁷*Statesman*, July 13, 1866.

¹⁸*Ibid.* Glover, Blair and Gantt had been strong Benton Democrats, Bogy, an anti-Benton, and Broadhead, a Whig. All save Bogy had been prominent Unionists.

When the "assembled wisdom, honesty, and patriotism of the State" adjourned,⁷⁸ Conservative prospects of success seemed promising. Under the leadership of the competent executive committee, the management of the campaign would be intelligent and vigorous. It was perfectly apparent that the Radicals faced a much more determined and united opposition in 1866 than the heterogeneous group which had fought vainly against the adoption of the Constitution a year previous.

Conservative speakers and writers continued to emphasize throughout the campaign state issues, and national Reconstruction was relegated to a secondary position.⁷⁹ Under the astute direction of the steering committee, the organization was strengthened and due recognition given particular problems in the various sections of the State. A favorable situation was noted by leaders in the Missouri river counties and in St. Louis.⁸⁰ Results in the border counties were far less hopeful.⁸¹ Although there was a good deal of stormy eloquence on the part of Blair and of other orators, little, if any, actual resistance to the laws was advocated. Indeed, on specific occasions, Conservatives were warned that violence would not only be futile but distinctly harmful.⁸² No nominations were made until after the National Union Convention. Those who represented Missouri at this gathering had been chiefly former Whigs and Benton Democrats.⁸³

⁷⁸*People's Tribune*, July 11, 1866.

⁷⁹*Republican*, August 1, 1866. The Conservative platform is embodied in an *Address to the People of Missouri*. Its chief planks declared for amendments to the Constitution which would sweep away every vestige of the oath of loyalty and the Registry Law; a special election to fill all civil positions declared vacant by the outstanding ordinance; opposition to the proposed 14th Amendment and to negro suffrage; support of Johnson.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, August 10, 1866. Bates to Johnson, July 12, 1866; L. Clark to Noell, July 20, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²Speech of Phelps, in *Springfield Journal*, June 25, 1866, of Bogy, in *Paris Mercury*, August 10, 1866, of Blair in *Statesman*, August 3, 1866, *Conservator*, Sept. 22, 1866. "Any man who attempts violence toward any officer of the law, no matter what he does, no matter how arbitrary and ridiculous may be his action . . . is an enemy of the Conservative Union men. You can never get your rights by violence," from speech of Blair, quoted in *Statesman*, August 3, 1866.

⁸³*Ibid.*, August 24, 1866. Rollins became a member of the Executive Committee which conferred with Johnson.

The Radicals had not been idle. Many meetings were held during the summer of 1866, at which the "loyal" party, as it was pleased to call itself, approved the policies of Congress, and defended its administration of affairs in Missouri.⁴⁴ The effective, but absurdly inaccurate, practice whereby all opponents of Radicalism were condemned as "disloyal" was maintained.⁴⁵ The campaign was under the supervision of a Union Executive Committee, in St. Louis, which was the focus of state politics but hardly a stronghold of Radicalism.⁴⁶ The management was furnished by the extremists and Drake continued as the leading exponent of true doctrine.⁴⁷

It was early decided that the chief emphasis must be placed on national issues. Although the oath of loyalty and the Registry Act were matters of notorious interest and concern, the assertion was made that "no state question demands immediate and special attention; other questions of wider scope and national importance now demand consideration."⁴⁸ The registration system, it is true, was deemed highly important and all were agreed that its provisions must be rigidly carried out.⁴⁹ To counteract the watchful Johnson clubs, party workers were advised narrowly to scrutinize the voting lists and to eliminate, by lawful means, the instructions were careful to add, all those who were "properly" disfranchised.⁵⁰ Certain Radicals were annoyingly frank in their declarations. The basis of Radical supremacy was to be further strengthened by rigid enforcement of the Registry Law and a full determination on the part of every Radical voter to personally see to its

⁴⁴For accounts of typical meetings, see Switzler, *Collections*, 1866, pp. 331, 346, 349-50.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁴⁶*People's Tribune*, August 8, 1866.

⁴⁷See his *Letter to Union Radicals*, in Switzler, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-388. The party terminology was somewhat confusing. Both groups, of course, claimed to be upholders of the Union, but the term "Republican" was almost never used in Missouri, even in a compound form. The official designations were Radical Union and Conservative Union.

⁴⁸*Democrat*, July 30, 1866.

⁴⁹*Address of Radical Union Executive Committee*, in Switzler, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-443.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 441.

faithful observance."⁸¹ Public opinion in the regions where Radicalism was strong sanctioned such procedure.⁸²

The confident, almost exuberant, predictions of Conservatives that the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional the entire oath of loyalty proved highly irritating and important Radical officials entered vehement denials.⁸³ "There has been no decision of the questions involved," wrote Senator Henderson. "So far as the voter's oath is concerned, there has been no argument in court, and can be none, for no case involving it ever came here. I have no doubt at all of the legal validity of the voter's oath, whatever the court may think of the constitutionality so far as it affects professions, or rather the right to pursue them. I have no idea that any member of the court will hesitate for a moment to admit the right of a State to fix arbitrarily the qualifications of its voters."⁸⁴

During the campaign there arrived in St. Louis to assume the editorship of the *Democrat*, a man who shortly was destined to exert a most significant influence in the politics of the State. William M. Grosvenor, a native of Massachusetts, had been educated at Yale College and before the war had served as assistant editor of a New Haven paper. He had seen service as colonel of the 13th Connecticut Volunteers but in 1864 re-entered the newspaper field as editor of the *New Haven Journal and Courier*. Grosvenor apparently desired to become associated with a western paper and enlisted the support of men well known in the field of journalism.⁸⁵ "I do not know how much special knowledge of the West he may have," wrote George William Curtis, "but I am sure that few men could learn more rapidly what is necessary than Colonel Grosvenor, or use this knowledge with greater discretion than he. He is a true Yankee and it is the Yankee genius that must rebuild the country."⁸⁶

⁸¹*Excelsior*, June 9, 1866; *Herald*, Sept. 2, 1866.

⁸²*Excelsior*, Aug. 1, Sept. 1, 1866; *Sentinel*, Aug. 3, 10, 1866.

⁸³J. B. Henderson to W. P. Harrison, in *News*, June 14, 1866.

⁸⁴Henderson to J. P. Whitney, *ibid.*, June 27, 1866.

⁸⁵G. W. Curtis to Grosvenor, May 19, June 27, 1866; Horace White to Grosvenor, Aug. 1, 1866, *Grosvenor Papers*.

⁸⁶Curtis to W. McKee and G. W. Fishback, proprietors of the *Democrat*, June 26, 1866, *ibid.*

Grosvenor received the appointment and became immediately interested in the bitter party contentions in the State. His editorials from the first attracted attention, and he was soon known among the Radicals as a forcible speaker and a party organizer of intelligence and of energy. From the first, Grosvenor displayed great interest in Missouri politics, and a keen insight into the intimate details of Radical policy.⁹⁷ Some of the most provincial and local among the Radicals were resentful of what they regarded as an assumption of superiority by a comparative stranger.⁹⁸

With the nomination of candidates, the campaign assumed a more formal aspect. The Conservatives operated through a series of conventions, as did the Radicals. At township and county meetings, delegates were selected to Congressional and State senatorial conventions, while in the meetings candidates were placed in nomination for county offices and for the lower house of the Legislature.⁹⁹ No embarrassing factional quarrels arose to endanger the prospects.¹⁰⁰ As a rule, the Congressional nominations were excellent.¹⁰¹ Some of the leaders of the party, including Blair, Broadhead, Rollins, and King, were induced to become candidates for the General Assembly, and freely to give time and energy to the campaign.

The Radicals rewarded with a renomination many of the faithful. The aspirants to Congress included some of the most extreme figures in the border counties.¹⁰² Both the speeches of the candidates and the platforms adopted at the conventions stated categorically that all the laws, but especially the Registry Act, must be obeyed, and that no renegade and ambitious politicians

⁹⁷Curtis to Grosvenor, Aug. 4, 1866, *ibid.*

⁹⁸"Colonel Grosvenor, the supercilious, newly-imported, hired editor of the Missouri Democrat, who is so patronizingly insolent to country papers . . . is about five feet ten, thirty-four years of age, chews tobacco very much after the manner of country editors and plays a good game of billiards. He has a beetling brow, and a don't-give-a-continental air. Should he travel in the rural districts he will probably get a local item from some country editor that he will not soon forget," quoted in *Ste. Genevieve Representative*, in *Grosvenor Papers*.

⁹⁹*Statesman*, Sept. 21, 1866.

¹⁰⁰*Conservator*, Aug. 18, 1866.

¹⁰¹The nominees included, W. F. Switzler, T. E. Noell, W. V. N. Bay, J. H. Birch, John Hogan, J. S. Waddell, J. M. Glover, T. L. Price, and G. A. Hawley.

¹⁰²J. W. McClug, J. G. Gravelly, R. J. Van Horn, and B. F. Loan were among those nominated.

be permitted to regain by political intrigue what had been lost on the battlefield.¹⁰³

During the earlier stages of the campaign, B. Gratz Brown announced his retirement from the field of active politics. Brown, although one of the earliest free soil Democrats in the State as well as one of the leading Radical emancipationists during the war, had never been very enthusiastic about the Constitution of 1865,¹⁰⁴ and was apparently even less pleased with the determined policy as enunciated for the campaign of 1866.

He had been in active public life since 1852, and despite his leadership of minority groups and unpopular causes, had been unusually successful in his quest for office. As the extremists came more and more to dominate the Radical party and as the expiration of his term drew near, Brown suddenly discovered that political life had become uncongenial and that his health would not permit his continuance in office.¹⁰⁵ Brown's restated views that disfranchisement and the minute regulations of registration were temporary, and defensible only because they were temporary, did not arouse any particular enthusiasm among those in control of the party organization. In his final resume of his work in the Senate, Brown took occasion strongly to urge the necessity of negro suffrage in Missouri as a precedent to restoration of political privileges to participants in the rebellion.¹⁰⁶ Brown's policies not only aroused the distrust of his own party; they also failed materially to lessen his unpopularity with the opposition.¹⁰⁷

Registration was to commence late in September and for several weeks prior to that time, a bitter and partisan wrangle

¹⁰³*Excelsior*, Sept. 15, 22, 1866; *Sentinel*, Aug. 24, 1866.

¹⁰⁴A summary of his views are in a letter to Fletcher, Sept. 14, 1866, in *Statesman*, Oct. 6, 1866.

¹⁰⁵His statement is in the *Democrat*, July 2, 1866. For satirical comments, see *Statesman*, July 6, 1866, *People's Tribune*, July 11, 1866.

¹⁰⁶B. G. Brown, *Letter to the People of Missouri*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁷"Life to immortal Brown,—once, in name.

Virginia hanged a rogue almost the same;

And if Missouri had him also hung

And Henderson with him on branches swung,

The world two fools and fanatics been spared,

And poor Missouri's interests better cared."

Quoted in *The Mongrelites*, anonymous (New York, 1866), pp. 19-23.

ensued between the Committee of Five, which managed the Conservative campaign, and Governor Fletcher. The plan by which registration and voting were to be attempted was amplified in further detail by Conservative spokesmen as the campaign progressed. The authoritative declaration of the Supreme Court, which all Conservatives fondly, almost naively, believed would remove the hated oath, also would legalize the votes of all who had been disfranchised. In cases where the election of Radicals had been contested and a recount of votes ordered, the Conservatives professed to believe that the legalization of the votes of rejected persons would make certain the final choice of a large number of Conservative candidates. It was thus of vital importance that the organization keep before its adherents the necessity of attempted registration, as a "legal" voter, or, failing in that, of casting a ballot as a "rejected voter." The chief difficulty with this arrangement was, that either through indifference or timidity many Conservatives would not heed the importunities of their leaders.

During the first weeks of July, the various supervisors of registration proceeded under the law to appoint in each election district, one "competent and prudent person," as a registration officer.¹⁰⁸ The highly suspicious Conservative committee, already worried by the formidable machinery created by their foes, were now brought to a higher pitch of anxiety. Some of the registrars possessed very little of the "prudence" deemed necessary by the law, and proclaimed that it was their purpose to reject all those who were not "unmistakably loyal."¹⁰⁹ Conservative campaign managers became convinced that such statements were prompted by suggestions from those high in the counsels of the Radical party.¹¹⁰ It was predicted that Fletcher intended to declare marital law and systematically to interfere with the election process.¹¹¹

During the summer of 1866, in certain sections of the State, persons subject to militia duty had been authorized by the chief

¹⁰⁸Registry Act, sec. 2.

¹⁰⁹Gantt to Hogan, July 28, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹*Ibid.* Also, T. W. Cunningham to J. F. Snyder, Sept. 6, 1866, *Snyder Papers*.

executive to form volunteer companies. These companies were composed of Radicals, were armed by the State, and used in some instances to make arrests.¹²² In St. Louis there was some ostentatious drilling of negro forces.¹²³ To Conservative observers, Fletcher's course was full of dark significance.¹²⁴ The unwonted militia activity was regarded as a sinister expedient, the purpose of which was to keep from the polls a large number of political opponents of Radicalism. "He wishes to intimidate them from even offering to vote, by use of military force," wrote the representative of the Committee of Five.¹²⁵

The Conservatives, accordingly, requested the encouragement and protection of the national government. They asked specifically, first, that General Hancock be placed in command of the department in place of General Pope; second, that regular troops be stationed at convenient points in the State to preserve order and to counteract the militia.¹²⁶ The requests were presented to Johnson by John Hogan, a Democratic-Conservative member of Congress. At the president's direction, Sherman, who was in command of the Division of the Mississippi, called into conference with himself, Fletcher, Gantt, and Glover.

In his report of the meeting, Sherman stated that the governor disclaimed all intention unduly to interfere with elections or to intimidate Conservatives.¹²⁷ Sherman characterized the Constitution, the Militia Ordinance, and the Registry Act as "extremely Radical." The dangers inherent in a military force composed entirely of the supporters of one party were offensively

¹²²W. T. Sherman to Johnson, Aug. 9, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

¹²³Gantt to Hogan, July 28, 1866, *ibid*.

¹²⁴It is doubtful whether Fletcher had authority under the militia ordinance of the State to authorize these volunteer companies. His acts, if not illegal, were the result of an unusual interpretation of the administration of the ordinance. For the ordinance in full, see *Journal*, pp. 284-87. Also, W. Douglas to Gantt, July 26, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

¹²⁵Gantt to Hogan, July 27, 1866, *ibid*. "That class of people who support the policy of Mr. Johnson's administration entertain grave apprehensions that their rights will be interfered with at the polls and it is my belief that they will forcibly resist any and all efforts of this kind," Major Roger James to Gen. P. M. Sawyer, Aug. 15, 1866, *ibid*.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, July 28, 1866. A local politician in the interior of the State wrote, "Unless the President comes to our rescue we had better not go into an election with them at all," W. McIlrath to James McFerran, Aug. 9, 1866, *ibid*.

¹²⁷Sherman to Johnson, Aug. 9, 1866, *ibid*.

obvious,¹¹⁸ and Sherman agreed that the actions of a few militia companies gave confirmation to certain Conservative complaints.¹¹⁹ Fletcher admitted that he had given arms and ammunition to negro regiments in St. Louis and would continue the policy in other sections of Missouri in order to protect the life and property of that race. The governor was bluntly informed that, "if negro troops, with arms in their hands, are arrayed at the polls in St. Louis on election day, there will be no election or there will be a fight beyond all reasonable doubt."¹²⁰

To add to the existing complexity of the situation, it was shown that in some instances the commanding officer of the local militia was also an officer of registration, and a candidate for the office of sheriff.¹²¹ This notorious pluralism of office was criticized by Fletcher as well as by the opposition spokesmen.

It was the Conservative contention that despite the test oath and the registry law, they could carry the State if there was a general assurance that the laws would be enforced impartially and a fair election held.¹²² "This the Governor promised," said Sherman, "and I understood that he would soon make official publication that would make all these points as clear as possible."¹²³ Glover and Gantt agreed to quiet the apprehensions of their supporters.

Not altogether reassured by the conference, a delegation of Conservatives went to Washington and laid before Johnson a long account of party woes.¹²⁴ Broadhead gloomily informed him that the State did not have a Republican form of government and that the strong arm of federal authority was needed.¹²⁵ The

¹¹⁸"The impression was strong with good men," wrote Sherman, "that Radicals could commit crime and violence without fear of punishment where the Conservatives were harassed by indictments and forcible arrests without warrant of law by the state militia," quoted in *ibid.*

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹²⁰Gantt to Hogan, Aug. 10, 1866, *ibid.*

¹²¹*Ibid.*, see *Herald*, Sept. 15, 1866.

¹²²Sherman to Johnson, *ibid.*

¹²³*Ibid.* It was apparently the opinion of Gantt that Fletcher agreed also to disband at once all military agencies not organized according to law. Gantt to Hogan, Aug. 10, 1866, *ibid.*

¹²⁴Statement of Missouri Conservatives, Aug. 1866, *Johnson Papers*. The signers included all the prominent leaders.

President assured them that he would give the support of the national government "so far as practicable."¹²⁸ He pleased Conservatives by appointing the tactful Hancock as head of the Department of the Missouri.

In pursuance of the agreement at the conference, Fletcher issued a proclamation which declared that the combined power of the National and State Governments would be employed to insure obedience to the law; that the registration and the election must be free and open and without violence; that the existing militia organization would be merged into a new group.¹²⁹ On September 6, the Adjutant General of the Militia, in a general order, disbanded "all companies or detachments of the Missouri militia . . . not in conformity with the provisions of the Ordinance for the organization of the Missouri militia."¹³⁰ All arms which had been issued were ordered returned to the Quartermaster General.

This new policy was in large measure made possible by the moderating influence of the officers of the regular army. Sherman approved the terms of the Proclamation and requested Gantt, for the Conservatives, to signify an equal satisfaction. This elicited from Gantt further drastic criticism of Fletcher and the assertion that no move had been taken actually to disband the companies; until this had been completely executed, he refused to commit his party to the approval of the governor's course.¹³¹

Sherman, by this time thoroughly impatient with the entire situation,¹³² in a curt message informed the Conservative leader that he "could not withdraw troops from the plains to interfere with your political wrangles and quarrels," and Gantt replied in an equally sharp manner.¹³³ It was at this time that the actual work of registration commenced and attention was directed to that process.

¹²⁸*Democrat*, Aug. 22, 1866.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*

¹³⁰*Messages and Proclamations*, Vol. IV, pp. 288-291.

¹³¹For the full text see *The Christian Advocate*, Sept. 12, 1866.

¹³²Gantt to Sherman, Sept. 3, 1866, *Sherman Papers*.

¹³³"I must keep clear of politics in all its phases," he wrote to John Sherman, Oct. 20, 1866, *ibid.*

¹³⁴Gantt to Sherman, Sept. 23, 1866 *ibid.*

The Registry Act embodied in theory a general policy of the State, and left the enforcement entirely to locally selected officials.¹²² It was apparent at once that a situation similar in many respects to the enforcement of the oath of loyalty for the professional classes would be the result. The respective desires, prejudices, and predilections of particular communities became often, although not always, the controlling factors in the enforcement of the act.

To the surprise of many and to the disappointment of a few, there was little actual violence after the process of registration formally began. The appeals of the Conservative organization that all party members be enrolled either as qualified or disqualified voters were continued well into the campaign.¹²³ Despite a few inflammatory appeals and threats,¹²⁴ no organized disturbances were noted during the first days.¹²⁵ The dire predictions of Conservative leaders that the militia would be used as the partisan agent of the Radical cause happily were not realized.

It is true that in some counties irregular organizations of men attempted to interfere with registration by deterring "rebels" from registering and in general obstructing the process of the law. Conservatives complained bitterly of this intimidation,¹²⁶ and the president was again requested to authorize Hancock to send federal troops to any portion of the State to disarm all lawless and unofficial military groups.¹²⁷

In the process of registering votes throughout the State, there was little uniformity.¹²⁸ The interpretations placed on the

¹²²Although the law did not require a residence qualification, it seems certain that the local registrars were selected in each election district from residents therein, while the same is true of the county supervisors. Penal sanctions were attached to violations of the law by registration officials but the governor had no power of removal.

¹²³*Herald*, Sept. 1, 1866; *Statesman*, Sept. 21, Oct. 3, 12, 1866. Neither the Constitution nor the law permitted any official to exclude entirely any applicant's name.

¹²⁴"I advise you to stop all your rebel meetings for we intend to be at the election; we are sworn not to let any man vote, expect he has or can produce, good and sufficient evidence of his loyalty. We intend to take care of all ballot boxes," W. A. W. to Robert Miller, July 4, 1866, *Miller Papers*.

¹²⁵*Democrat*, Sept. 24, 1866.

¹²⁶Broadhead to Johnson, Oct. 17, 1866, *Johnson Papers*.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*

¹²⁸General accounts of registration are in the *Republican* and the *Democrat*, Sept.-Oct., 1866.

law were various and were conditioned by local factors and occasionally by the caprice of individual registrars.¹³⁰ In those counties where sentiment supported the test oath registration continued quietly and peaceably.¹⁴⁰ The agonized appeals of leaders for a large registration were apparently unheeded by the scattered Conservative forces in the north and northwest sections.¹⁴¹ The failure of Conservatives to heed these importunities can be attributed partly to indifference and partly to what had earlier been characterized as "a painful feeling of insecurity, amounting almost to timidity among them."¹⁴²

In Conservative strongholds the situation was quiet. Few were rejected in St. Louis.¹⁴³ In certain centers of anti-Radicalism, notably in Boone and Callaway counties, public opinion was strong in the belief that persons should not be disfranchised because of mere expressions of opinions and of sympathy but that only disloyal acts should be considered. The Supervisor of Registration in Callaway testified that the law was not carried out either in letter or in spirit, and that threats and intimidation deterred Radicals from making objections to the registration of many applicants.¹⁴⁴ In Callaway, 2,034 persons were registered as qualified voters, but the district registrars declared that under a strict interpretation of the law approximately 200 would have been enrolled.¹⁴⁵ In Boone, 814 were registered and it was es-

¹³⁰*Advocate*, Oct. 10, 1866.

¹⁴⁰*Excelsior*, Oct. 13, 1866; *Sentinel*, Oct. 26, 1866; *History of Maries and Osage Counties*, p. 671; *History of Nodaway County*, pp. 488-89; *History of Greene County*, pp. 496-97.

¹⁴¹In Schuyler County, 200 Conservatives made no attempt to register, *Excelsior*, Nov. 3, 1866; in Holt County only two Radicals were rejected, while 941 were registered as qualified voters, *Sentinel*, Oct. 20, 1866.

¹⁴²Gantt to Hogan, July 28, 1866, *Johnson Papers*. "The Radicals have had the whip hand over them so long that they are completely cowed. I think there will be no riots during the election, at least, none of sufficient importance to give alarm," J. S. Fullerton to Johnson, Oct. 23, 1866, *ibid*.

¹⁴³For figures in certain election districts, see *House Misc. Docs.*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 37.

¹⁴⁴For a mass of conflicting and partisan opinion, see *House Misc. Docs.*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 39, pp. 8-29; *ibid.*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 12, pp. 1-16. Also, *History of Boone County*, pp. 494-95.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 39, pp. 10, 11, 13. "Loyal men were afraid to make objections and I fully believe that it would have been dangerous for them to have done so," said one registrar, *ibid.*, p. 89. "Many good Union men informed me that they thought it unsafe to go to the place of registering and voting, and did not do so," according to another, *ibid.*, p. 92.

timated that under a rigorous enforcement, some 500 would have been the total.¹⁴⁶

In other counties, where the Conservatives were probably in a fairly large numerical majority, no one policy of registration existed. Early reports from Ray and Buchanan were encouraging,¹⁴⁷ but elsewhere complaints were made that fully one-half of the voters were disfranchised.¹⁴⁸ "We are about to be swept away by this registry law," wrote a local politician, "we are struggling for political existence, fully half of our friends are disfranchised."¹⁴⁹ The fact that the politically disfranchised included many who were of social and economic prominence was bitterly resented among Conservatives.¹⁵⁰ "The oldest and best citizens and heaviest taxpayers have been rejected in St. Charles and adjoining counties," wrote an observer.¹⁵¹ In other sections where the Conservatives were numerically strong, a drastic application of the law reduced sharply the number of qualified voters.¹⁵²

Many irritating incidents arose. Some local registrars were not content diligently to administer the law but in addition asked of applicants numerous searching questions. Many of these queries were very remote from any actual need and not prescribed by authority of law. Some of the questions had been prepared by the Attorney General and were known as "Wingate's Catechism;" others were the product of ingenious and not overly scrupulous

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 36-40.

¹⁴⁷*Conservator*, Oct. 27, 1866; *Herald*, Sept. 28, 1866.

¹⁴⁸*History of Clay and Platte Counties*, p. 766; *History of Clinton County*, p. 371; *Lincoln Herald*, Nov. 9, 1866.

¹⁴⁹T. Wilson to Miller, Sept. 18, 1866, *Miller Papers*.

¹⁵⁰"The Conservative party in this county (Platte) paid and will continue to pay all taxes of the county for all purposes because of their numbers and wealth," quoted in *House Misc. Docs.*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 48, p. 48.

¹⁵¹*St. Charles Sentinel*, quoted in *Statesman*, Nov. 9, 1866.

¹⁵²*History of Cass and Bates Counties*, pp. 588, 1046. For accounts of registration in a number of Conservative counties, see *House Misc. Docs.*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 48, pp. 6-20, 24-28, 29-37.

¹⁵³The following are typical examples:

1. Did you ever write or send letters to any person serving in the rebel armies? 2. Did you furnish a horse, a gun, a pistol, powder, shot or other ammunition, or clothing, or any of these articles, to any person who entered the rebel service or engaged in bushwhacking? 3. Do you believe that any mental reservation or that any human law or any human decision can absolve you from your responsibility to God, if in taking the oath of loyalty you state that which is not true? *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

partisans.¹⁵³ Some applicants refused to answer these questions and were denied registration.¹⁵⁴

As the campaign drew to a close, after a thorough canvass of both parties,¹⁵⁵ the Boards of Revision and Appeal met to hear complaints of individuals and to certify to the Secretary of State the official lists of registered voters. Further antagonism was aroused over the notorious action of certain of these groups. Local registrars who in their small districts had hesitated when public sentiment was hostile became exceedingly courageous when meeting in secret with their colleagues. "The game now," declared a Conservative newspaper, "is to defraud legal voters of their just rights and to give the Radicals a majority."¹⁵⁶ The procedure adopted was effective; it was to transfer registrants from the qualified to the rejected list. This was done by some Boards, particularly in the northwestern counties, which assumed the powers of a plenary court of inquisition and decided questions, it was alleged, on *ex parte* evidence.¹⁵⁷

But the Conservatives did not resort to violence, although in some counties it became necessary for the Board to have a guard of protection in the discharge of their duties.¹⁵⁸ Both the partisan prejudice and the personal animosity of alert and adroit Radical officials played some part in the registration process,¹⁵⁹ although there is little evidence to sustain the Conservative contentions of a state-wide, organized effort to violate the law.¹⁶⁰

The Conservatives closed their campaign filled with a baseless optimism which was in large measure the result of cheering reports from the interior of the State. In spite of stringent, or

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 29-32, 43.

¹⁵⁴*Annual Cyclop.*, 1866, p. 526.

¹⁵⁵*Herald*, Oct. 21, 1866.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, also *Conservator*, Oct. 27, 1866.

¹⁵⁷*History of Saline County*, p. 358.

¹⁵⁸*St. Charles Sentinel*, *Hannibal Republic*, *Paris Mercury*, quoted in *Statesman*, Nov. 9, 1866. W. H. Thomas, Supervisor of Registration in Callaway County, made entries against 730 persons who had been duly registered as qualified voters. It was beyond his legal powers to interpolate these facts or statements into the list but it seems to have been done with the knowledge and approbation of the Secretary of State. This amazing and illegal action became later the basis for a contested congressional election. See *House Misc. Docs.*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 28, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵⁹*Herald*, Oct. 25, 27, 1866; *Statesman*, Nov. 2, 1866; *Republican*, Oct. 22, 1866.

perhaps illegal, actions of certain officials, it was said that a large number of Conservatives had been registered.¹⁸¹

The slowly reported returns told a melancholy story of uniform defeat of the Conservative cause. Any lingering doubts as to the efficacy of the oath of loyalty and the Registry Act were soon dispelled. "There is no use mincing matters," declared an editor, "the Registry Act has laid us out cold."¹⁸² In seven of the nine Congressional districts the Radicals won by majorities which ranged from 218 to 7,740.¹⁸³ Both houses of the Legislature showed a large majority for the Radicals.¹⁸⁴ Conservative successes in local contests were not impressive.

The northwestern and southwestern sections of the State returned large majorities for every Radical candidate.¹⁸⁵ The actual strength of the party in these counties was not only greater than elsewhere but the law was supported with unanimity by the public opinion of these localities.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹*Republican*, Nov. 3, 1866.

¹⁸²*Conservator*, Nov. 10, 1866.

¹⁸³For figures for each district, see *Annual Cyclop.*, 1866, p. 526.

¹⁸⁴The Senate stood 28 to 8; the House 103 to 36, *Statesman*, Jan. 4, 1867.

¹⁸⁵*Excelsior*, Dec. 1, 1866; *Sentinel*, Nov. 9, 1866; *History of Sullivan and Putnam Counties*, p. 507; *History of Nodaway County*, p. 488; *History of Greene County*, p. 504.

¹⁸⁶In the 7th Congressional district, chiefly composed of border counties, typical figures are:

	Conservative	Radical
Atchison	16	580
Holt	45	762
Nodaway	256	710
Andrew	247	1,127
Gentry	176	571
Harrison	210	1,069
Grundy	103	864
Mercer	195	886
Sullivan	262	748
Putnam	39	1,112

In a group of southwestern counties, the returns in a state senatorial district are:

	Conservative	Radical
Greene	262	1,068
Webster	207	401
Christian	49	439
Taney	8	101
Stone	54	100

From *Sentinel*, Nov. 30, 1866, *History of Green County*, p. 508.

In a few communities, the Conservatives heeded the admonition of their leaders and, although they had been listed as "rejected," cast ballots which the election officials promptly consigned to the box for rejected ballots. The results of this attempt showed clearly the extent to which disfranchisement prevailed and the hopelessness of the Conservative cause under a rigorous enforcement.¹⁶⁷

The conclusions of a committee of the House of Representatives, based on evidence collected in a contested election contest in the 6th Congressional district, indicated that the provisions of the Constitution and the Registry law were rigidly enforced, and that, in some instances, partisan unfairness was shown.¹⁶⁸ The frank admission was made, however, that to what extent this unfairness operated to exclude lawful voters from registration, and who such voters were, was wholly vague and uncertain.¹⁶⁹

A comparison of the total votes of typical Radical and Conservative counties in 1860, 1864, 1865 and 1866, in two elections for governor, one for the ratification of the Constitution, and one for Congress, indicated a considerable decrease in the votes of the latter. Even the small vote in the election of 1864,

¹⁶⁷The figures indicate the rejected votes in Conservative counties of the 6th Congressional district:

	Conservative	Radical	Rejected
Clinton	309	444	122
Ray	508	588	274
Lafayette	653	503	235
Jackson	952	903	343
Clay	111	125	507
Carroll	435	683	126
Saline	357	441	569
Platte	764	652	325

House Misc. Docs., 40th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 48, pp. 22-26, 29, 38, 42.

¹⁶⁸D. W. Bartlett, *Contested Elections in Congress*, (Wash. 1870, 2 vols.) Vol. II, p. 210.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*

caused by the disturbed and chaotic conditions which prevailed in many sections, was further reduced by the test oath and registry law.¹⁷⁰

Some Conservatives consoled themselves in the fact that, after all, the party had not lost anything, and were inclined to accept the situation and to prepare for 1868. The rule of the Radicals was preferable to another Civil War.¹⁷¹ Others clung to the idea that indifference had played an important part in the disaster and that, in spite of the Registry Act, many more Conservative votes could have been polled. "The consequences of

¹⁷⁰ County.	Gov. 1860	Gov. 1864	Const. Ratifica- tion 1865	Cong. 1866
Andrew, R.	1,659	1,192	967	1,374
Atchison, R.	813	627	418	596
Audrain, C.	1,324	520	634	512
Boone, C.	2,656	1,059	1,895	814
Buchanan Caldwell, R.	3,370 728	2,704 573	1,655 493	2,649 694
Callaway, C.	2,496	1,267	1,776	1,626
Chariton, R.	1,119	363	504	1,126
Clay, C.	1,563	991	980	236
Clinton, R.	1,274	784	465	753
Davies, R.	1,436	1,054	607	1,282
DeKalb, R.	780	595	311	585
Gentry, R.	1,675	799	405	747
Grundy, R.	1,007	939	688	967
Harrison, R.	1,174	1,402	1,005	1,279
Holt, R.	1,067	740	567	807
Howard, C.	1,871	521	1,015	1,215
Jackson, C.	3,253	1,126	1,122	1,855
Lafayette, C.	2,510	763	1,111	1,156
Lincoln, C.	1,839	899	776	964
Livingston, R.	1,460	966	586	203
Monroe, C.	2,175	761	1,000	399
Montgomery, R.	1,297	628	531	875
Nodaway, R.	1,214	826	665	966
Pike, C.	2,985	2,024	1,751	2,228
Platte, C.	2,431	1,467	1,231	1,418
Putnam, R.	1,204	1,243	953	1,151
Ralls, C.	1,273	491	426	495
Randolph, C.	1,833	712	913	1,355
Ray, C.	1,811	1,090	753	1,096
St. Charles R.	2,129	1,895	1,645	2,177
Saline, C.	1,954	321	454	798
Sullivan, R.	1,290	1,129	680	1,010
Warren	967 1,242 731 1,101

The figures are taken from *Appendix, House Journal*, 22nd Gen. Assembly, 1st Sess., pp. 91-92; *Senate Journal*, 23rd Gen. Assembly, pp. 671-673; *Transcript of Records, Election Returns*, 1865; *House Misc. Docs.*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 2, p. 2; *ibid.*, No. 39, p. 1. *Statesman*, Nov. 30, 1866; *Sentinel*, Nov. 30, 1866.

¹⁷¹*Conservator*, Nov. 17, 1866.

their non-voting will be that less than one-third of our people will govern the State for the next two years," declared a leading newspaper.¹⁷²

Additional party bitterness was created by Secretary of State Rodman, who refused to count the vote of Callaway County on the ground that there had not been in that county a proper registration, and that the votes cast for Switzler, Conservative candidate for Congress, were not, therefore, "legal votes."¹⁷³ The effect of this action gave the election to the Radical, Anderson, to whom Rodman issued a certificate of election.

The extraordinary procedure was not only authorized and irregular, but highly illegal. The duties of the Secretary of State were purely ministerial and he had no legal authority, as a canvassing officer, either to go behind the returns which had been certified to him by the proper county election officials or to review the actions of any officer of registration.¹⁷⁴ The returns were not certified until more than five weeks subsequent to the election when it was clear that the vote of this county would determine the election.¹⁷⁵ A committee of Congress strongly condemned the action of Rodman and recommended the seating of Switzler.¹⁷⁶ The minority, represented by McClurg, of Missouri, presented a gloomy picture of disloyalty being triumphant, the loyal intimidated, registrars powerless, witnesses awed into silence, which produced a "quiet" registration and election.¹⁷⁷ It was urged, therefore, that treason would be rebuked and loyalty rewarded by seating the contestee.¹⁷⁸ Radical Congressmen from Missouri assured their colleagues of the general depravity of the Conservatives of the State, and advanced the theory, more ingenious than sound, that the registration law directly conferred upon the Secretary of State authority to decide whether the registration had been

¹⁷²*Republican*, Nov. 23, 1866.

¹⁷³The vote was Switzler, 1463; Anderson, 163.

¹⁷⁴See, *Missouri Laws*, 1865-66, p. 124; *Statesman*, Jan. 4, 1867.

¹⁷⁵For a full discussion of this, see *House, Misc. Docs.*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 28, esp. pp. 3, 5, 6, 10.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 20.

conducted in accordance with the law.¹⁷⁹ After a prolonged and partisan debate, the Radical majority voted to seat Anderson.¹⁸⁰

Late in November, when the full results of the victory were known, and politicians had begun to speak of the approaching election of a United States senator, a secret meeting of certain Radicals was held in St. Louis. The exact origins of this "Planters House meeting" are obscure. Of the 29 present, 17 were St. Louisans. The conference ostensibly had been called to bring together "the leading Radicals of the State, for the purpose of conferring on the future policy to be adopted by the Radical party, on questions involving the amendment of the State Constitution, and on such other questions of public and party interest, as may come up for action thereto, and before the legislature at its next session."¹⁸¹

B. Gratz Brown was perhaps the leading figure at the meeting. He took occasion eloquently to advocate "universal suffrage and universal amnesty," a heartening phrase destined later to have an interesting history in Missouri and elsewhere. Brown's solicitous interest in negro suffrage was already well known, and had not enhanced his popularity with certain influential elements in his party.¹⁸² His views were strongly supported by Grosvenor, who was already high in the counsels of the party, and who thought it was "folly for us to be fighting over the dead bones of a past rebellion."¹⁸³ Fletcher was in thorough accord with the newer policies. Drake, who was strongly inclined to regard discussions of party policy as personal attacks, strongly opposed any change.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹The law read, "The supervisors of registration . . . are hereby required to make out and forward to the secretary of state . . . a certified copy of the registration which shall contain the names of all registered voters; which certified copy shall be in evidence of the facts therein stated, and may be used as such in any contested election case or other legal proceeding." Sec. 1.

¹⁸⁰Bartlett, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 374; also *Cong. Globe*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 4124-33; 3rd Sess., pp. 502-18.

¹⁸¹*Republican*, Dec. 1, 1866.

¹⁸²B. Gratz Brown, *Universal Suffrage*, (St. Louis, 1865), *passim*. Of this speech Blair said, "Your Senator, B. Gratz Brown, is out in a nine-column argument for negro suffrage. There is not much danger to be apprehended from this long winded pronouncement for not one man in ten thousand will ever undertake to read it," *Advocate*, Oct. 26, 1865.

¹⁸³C. E. Moss, in *Springfield Patriot*, no date, *Grosvenor Papers*.

He charged Fletcher with endeavoring to form a coalition of anti-Drake Radicals and Conservatives to insure his election to the Senate.¹⁸⁵

But the principles portrayed by Brown were approved by a large majority of those in attendance, and were embodied in a series of resolutions which were adopted by a vote of 19 to 3.¹⁸⁶ The resolutions showed a somewhat startling reversal of former Radical policy; especially in regard to the oath of loyalty and to registration.¹⁸⁷

The news of the action of these earlier liberals was shortly known. In general, the response of party men and of important party newspapers was unenthusiastic or openly hostile. "We are clear in the conviction that the time has not yet come to make rebel enfranchisement a part of the Radical program in Missouri," declared the leading Radical journal in the State.¹⁸⁸ Others resented

¹⁸⁵"Let others do as they will," he declared. "I will not back down or waver. Regarding the Constitution as in the main the very best in the land . . . seeing in it therefore our only sure protection against Rebellion, Copperheadism, and Blairism . . . I say, once for all, stand by your Constitution just as it is," *Republican*, Dec. 1, 1866.

¹⁸⁶*Excelsior*, Dec. 29, 1866.

¹⁸⁷The three were Drake, Van Horn, a Congressman, and J. F. Hume, a St. Louis journalist and politician.

¹⁸⁸The resolutions in full are as follows:

"Resolved: That in as much as the Republican Party of Missouri has won an unprecedented triumph in the late election, combating admirably for the supremacy of Free Principles; Therefore, it is now right that the Constitution of this State should be made to conform more nearly to the requirements of a general freedom, by so amending it in its several sections, as that Universal suffrage shall attend upon, and herald in Universal Amnesty.

"Resolved: That the General Assembly of this State, now about to convene, is hereby requested, as embodying the sense of this meeting, to submit to the people of Missouri, to vote upon at the next general election, amendments to the Constitution confirming in the right of suffrage and equal citizenship, all who are prepared to render a true allegiance in the future to the Government of the United States and the State, irrespective of color or race, or previous disqualifications on account of complicity with rebellion.

"Resolved: That, in pursuance of such amendments, Free Thought, Free Speech, and a Free Ballot to all disqualified citizens as removing such restrictions as have heretofore been placed upon the exercise of certain civil and religious offices, to wit; preachers and teachers, the laws of this State should be revised as to conform thereto, and especially the Registry Law, which, whilst it is essential as a protection from fraud, yet should be modified as to conform to the largest liberty."

¹⁸⁹*Democrat*, Dec. 1, 1866. This view is directly opposed to that expressed by Grosvenor at the meeting. He spoke there as an individual while the policy of the paper was fixed by its proprietors.

the predominance in the meeting of St. Louis politicians, as the opposition to Radicalism in that city had been strikingly illustrated on several occasions. It was reported that a majority of Radicals in the north and northwest were opposed to the plan; it being deemed unnecessary to advocate either negro or "rebel" suffrage in any form, or to make any humiliating compromises with Conservatives.¹⁰⁰

A majority of seasoned Radical politicians regarded the entire procedure as party treason, and its originators as formentors of political disturbance.¹⁰⁰ They resented any changes which threatened seriously to challenge the existing arrangements. They saw no need to advocate new issues because they took for granted the relatively permanent serviceability of the bases of Radical strength, which were the test oath and registration. They were likewise determined to retain their vicarious dictatorship of the party's affairs without recourse to visionary and sentimental doctrines. So long as the views of this element received the substantial support of the rank and file, it would be difficult indeed to achieve, within the party, the ends sought by the earlier liberals.

The advocates of the liberalization of the party program were firm in the belief that the principles which underlay the resolutions were inherently sound and, if adopted, would insure for a considerable period success and supremacy. Superficial observers who thought they saw in the liberal program evidence of political altruism ignored the solid facts of practical politics. What appeared to be the personal factors in the case, the rivalry between Drake and Fletcher and the ambitions of B. Gratz Brown and of Grosvenor were in reality intrinsic to the historical movement.

¹⁰⁰*Sentinel*, Dec. 7, 1866.

¹⁰⁰C. I. Filley, *Some Republican History of Missouri*, (St. Louis, 1898), *passim*.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLIMAX OF RADICALISM

"The oath required is, for its severity, without any precedent that we can discover. The disabilities created by the Constitution of Missouri must be regarded as penalties—they constitute punishment. The existing clauses presume the guilt of the priests and clergymen, and adjudge the deprivation of their right to teach or preach. They are aimed at past acts, and not future acts. The provisions of the Constitution of Missouri impose penalties without the formality of a judicial trial and conviction."

Mr. Justice Field.

"So far as the voter's oath is concerned, there has been no argument in court, and can be none, for no case involving it ever came here. I have no doubt at all of the legal validity of the voter's oath, whatever the court may think of the constitutionality so far as it affects professions, or rather the right to pursue them. No member of the court will hesitate for a moment to admit the right of a state to fix arbitrarily the qualifications of its voters."

John B. Henderson.

The disastrous defeat of the Conservative Unionists brought to an abrupt close the history of that short-lived organization. The very name "Conservative" fell into disuse early in 1867, although in the Legislative session of that year it was used for lack of any more accurate designation for the opponents of Radicalism.

The period from 1867 to 1869 marked the climax of Radicalism. The policies and doctrines of the party were guided by the extremists and the tone of their leaders became audibly sharper. The program of the Planters House meeting was largely abandoned. Those who had fostered that conference frankly accepted the situation; the voice of the party was not in accord with their judgment and they hesitated further to press the issue. The average Radical voter seemed impervious or indiffer-

ent to these dangerous doctrines.¹ The old and partisan appeals were still effective and it seemed the better part of political wisdom to continue them unimpaired. Those putative leaders who had questioned the desirability of such procedure, being loyal party men, stepped back into the ranks. They were skeptical or non-committal, but not openly hostile toward the course of political action.

In the Legislature which assembled in January 1867, the Radicals had large majorities in each house. They felt supreme and secure behind the bulwarks of test oath and Registry Act, and hence indifferent to suggestion or agitation whose purpose would be to alleviate the political or professional disabilities created by the Constitution of 1865. Nevertheless, Governor Fletcher in his message to the General Assembly took occasion strongly to urge that body to submit an amendment to the Constitution repealing the requirement of the oath of loyalty for lawyers, ministers, and teachers. "This section," he declared, "has not prevented disloyal persons from pursuing the avocations of lawyers and school teachers. *Bishops, priests, and ministers teach and preach without taking the required oath.*" The example offered by the disregard of unnecessary laws, especially by so intelligent and influential a class of citizens, begets a general disposition to exercise individual discretion in obeying or enforcing laws—a disposition which leads to anarchy and impunity in crime. This is one of the many oaths required by our Constitution and laws which is unnecessary, and which only familiarize the mind with the taking of oaths, thereby lessening their solemnity and impressiveness, and inducing perjury by creating a motive to swear falsely."²

¹"The party said, Justice to the negro; punishment to the rebel," and they (Liberals) yielded as truly patriotic men," confidential Address of Grosvenor, to Radical Conference, Dec. 1867, *Grosvenor Papers*.

²The italics are the writer's.

³*Senate Journal*, 24th General Assembly (Jefferson City, 1867), pp. 15-16. Fletcher's opposition to the oath for ministers had not abated during 1866. In July, he wrote to Father O'Regan at Cape Girardeau that "the Constitution of the State only permits me to interfere 'after conviction.' I regret that it is so, as it would have been a real pleasure to me to relieve from further annoyance, from the indictments against him, the venerable and worthy Father McGerry, and whom you may assure I will do as soon as can be done legally." Quoted in *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, p. 525.

Encouraged by the tone of the message, a few moderates early attempted to secure approval of a proposed amendment which would repeal outright the test oath provision for lawyers, teachers and ministers.⁴ "I am now satisfied," the governor wrote, "that I made a great mistake in not taking grounds in the message for a supplementary act to amend the Constitution and include the rank and file of rebels." Three days later, further debate over constitutional amendment concerning the oath for the professional classes was rendered unnecessary by the announcement of the long awaited decision in the Cummings case.⁵

In an elaborate opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Field, the Court held that certain of the clauses in the second article of the Missouri Constitution constituted, first, a bill of attainder within the meaning of the provision of the Federal Constitution; second, that they violated that section of the Constitution prohibiting the passage by the States of an *ex post facto* law. The Court declared that the oath was, "for its severity, without any precedent that we can discover." While admitting that the States could create qualifications or attach conditions for practicing certain callings, "the disabilities created by the Constitution of Missouri must be regarded as penalties—they constitute punishment."⁶ Defining a bill of attainder as a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial, Mr. Field declared that "the existing clauses presume the guilt of the priests and clergymen, and adjudge the deprivation of their right to teach or preach unless the presumption be first removed by their expurgatory oath; in other words, they assume the guilt and adjudge the punishment conditionally."⁷ The Court rejected the contention that a bill of attainder could be directed only against individuals by name, and held that it could be directed, as in the Cummings case, against a whole class.

⁴*Senate Journal*, p. 42; *House Journal*, pp. 45, 51; *Statesman*, Jan. 18, 1867.

⁵Fletcher to Grosvenor, Jan. 11, 1867, *Grosvenor Papers*.

⁶(1866) 4 Wallace 277.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 318.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 323-325.

The Court then proceeded to enter into an examination of the *ex post facto* qualities of the oath of loyalty.¹⁰ An *ex post facto* law was defined as "a law which imposes a punishment for an act which was not punishable at the time it was committed; or imposes additional punishment to that then prescribed; or changes the rules of evidence by which less or different testimony is sufficient to convict than formerly was required."¹¹ In the view of the Court, the clauses in the Missouri Constitution were aimed at past acts and not at future acts.¹² Some of the acts to which the expurgatory oath was directed were not offenses at the time they were committed, and the clauses prescribing penalties for such acts were within the terms of the definition of an *ex post facto* law because they "imposed a punishment for an act which was not punishable at the time it was committed."¹³ The requirements of the test oath imposed also an increase in the penalty prescribed for such of the acts specified as at the time constituted public offenses, and were thus *ex post facto*.¹⁴ Finally, in assuming the parties were guilty and in calling upon them to establish their innocence, the provisions altered the rules of evidence, universally recognized.¹⁵ Briefly restated, then, the substance of the opinion of the Court was that Mr. Cummings was punished by deprivation of his profession, for an act not punishable when it was committed, and by a legislative instead of a judicial proceeding.

In the opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Field, Justices Wayne, Grier, Nelson, and Clifford concurred.¹⁶ There was a vigorous dissenting opinion filed by Mr. Justice Miller, on behalf of himself, Chief Justice Chase, and Justices Swayne and Davis.¹⁷ In the view of the dissenting judges, the test oath was desirable as a protection to the country and to the state against disloyal men. They regarded it as fixing a proper qualification for the practice

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 326-327.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 327.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 328.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶The four concurring justices had been appointed prior to the war.

¹⁷(1866) 4 Wallace 382. This opinion applied both to the Cummings case and to *ex parte* Garland.

of the professions and they denied that the constitutional provision was either a bill of attainder or an *ex post facto* law within the meaning of the Federal Constitution."

When the news of the decision in the Cummings case reached Missouri, the Conservatives hailed it with obvious joy. To them, the decision displayed admirably the complete freedom of the Court from the partisan bias of the legislative branch of the government. In the first moments of rejoicing, the assertion was confidentially made that the oath of loyalty in its entirety had been declared unconstitutional and that "the Radical regime of trickery, despotism, and fraud" had received its death blow." An examination of the decision, however, warranted no such optimistic conclusion. The oath of loyalty, as a matter of fact, had been set aside in so far as it applied to clergymen, and, by similar reasoning, to lawyers and to teachers, although the latter classes were not specifically mentioned in the opinion of the Supreme Court. The decision in no way concerned the test oath as a qualification of suffrage, of office holding or any other political privilege.

The Radicals of Missouri saw in the decision but another manifestation on the part of the Court to defeat the will of the people; a process already carried too far by the president and his supporters.³¹ Criticism of the judges who rendered the majority opinion was unsparing. This earlier and somewhat depressing reaction of the Radicals to the decision was soon succeeded by a

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 386, 389-392. See also Warren: *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 174. The decision in the Cummings case was one of three very important opinions announced by the Court in December, 1866, and January, 1867, the others being *ex parte* Milligan and *ex parte* Garland. In the former case, it was unanimously held that military commissions and tribunals could not be instituted by the president in time of war in localities where the civil courts were open, while a bare majority of the Court also declared that Congress had no power to establish such bodies under similar conditions. In *ex parte* Garland, the Court declared unconstitutional a statute of Congress which required a Federal test oath before an attorney would be permitted to practice in the United States Courts. This statute was held to contravene the constitutional prohibitions of bills of attainder and *ex post facto* laws.

³²*Statesman*, January 25, 1867; *Tribune*, February 15, 1867; *Christian Advocate*, January 20, 1867.

³³*Democrat*, Jan. 16, 1867.

frank realization that, after all, no effective blow had been struck. So long as the oath of loyalty for voters remained in force and was administered by aggressively partisan Radicals, there was little to fear from the opposition of a relatively small professional group. Had no such decision been rendered, the restriction upon preachers and attorneys would probably have been removed as a matter of policy. "The war is now over," admitted a prominent Radical journal, "and whether such restrictions were or were not legal and necessary during its continuance, the demand for them no longer exists, and the decision as confined to its legitimate scope and effect, would do but little practical harm."²¹ Some Radical leaders were alleged to be greatly relieved that the troublesome problem had been solved for them by the Supreme Court.²² Certain it is that the decision removed from the field of partisan controversy an issue which endangered party solidarity.

When the decision in the Cummings case was made public, there were pending in the state circuit courts several score of cases which had been continued from time to time awaiting the verdict of the Supreme Court. Eleven circuit judges dismissed at once from the docket all cases involving the oath of loyalty for ministers.²³ In other instances, the state, through the prosecuting attorneys, entered a *nolle prosequi*, and the defendants were thereupon discharged.²⁴ At the sessions of the circuit courts held during the spring of 1867, in all the cases where a continuance had been ordered, dismissals were quietly made.²⁵

The enforcement of the test oath showed clearly that among particular communities there was a widespread disregard of the constitutional provisions. The experience of Missouri in this regard indicated the great difficulty of effective enforcement of a state policy, through locally elected agencies, if it stands in direct antithesis to the views of the people whom it affects. From the

²¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1867.

²²*Republican*, Jan. 16, 1867.

²³*Tribune*, May 8, 1867.

²⁴*Leftwich: op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 412.

²⁵For additional evidence, see *Leftwich, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 313; vol. II, pp. 352, 358, 405, 412; Hogan, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 152; *History of Marion County*, p. 529; Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 130; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, p. 525.

point of view of equal enforcement, the test oath was a distinct failure.

It has been somewhat of a tradition in Missouri history that the oath of loyalty was the creation of a group of politico-religious fanatics and that it was supported and drastically enforced by a united Radical party, under whose direction a thorough and widespread persecution of innocent men was enthusiastically carried on. So far as can be ascertained, from the admittedly meagre evidence, some eighty-five ministers were indicted, all of whom were released on bond. A great majority of the cases were never brought to trial, and the proportion of convictions to indictments was absurdly small. Two priests, Father Cummings and Father Murphy, and probably a third, Father Ryan, were tried and fined for preaching without first subscribing to the oath. Reverend A. Munson, Presbyterian, likewise was tried and fined \$500.²⁰

That the test oath for the clergy was generally regarded as extreme, unjust, and unprecedented by many whose loyalty to the Union could not be questioned will not be gainsaid. That it proved a distinct liability to the Radical party and was a political blunder is evident, because the actual operation of the test oath was far less important than what people thought about it and thought about the Radicals for adopting it. But that there was any state-wide and systematic "persecution" of the clergy for the conscious purpose of destroying religious freedom must be regarded as a legend.

Since the news of Brown's retirement from politics, interest had centered in the choice of his successor. The field was soon narrowed down to Drake and Fletcher, although there were other Radicals who were willing to accept the honor. Drake was aggressively interested in the senatorship, and to many it seemed fitting that the position should be bestowed upon him. That the Radical party owed much to Drake could not be denied. His leadership and party services in the convention, in the ratification struggle, and in the campaign of 1866 were conspicuous facts. Drake's name was intimately associated with certain measures, such as the Test Oath and Registry Act, and with the formation

²⁰For a detailed discussion of the test oath, see Barclay, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-81.

and execution of the Radical program.²⁷ Yet it was difficult for anyone to become enthusiastic about Drake. He lacked totally most of the politician's arts, was intolerant and despotic, and repelled the average party worker. His election would be in a very real sense the reward of merit. The German Radicals, Drake's ancient foes, were hostile toward his candidacy,²⁸ but were not active in advancing the claims of any other candidate. Some weeks before the Legislature met, it was freely predicted that, whatever Drake's defects, he would probably have the support of a large majority of his party.²⁹

The chief rival was Fletcher. He had quietly surveyed the field prior to the meeting of the Legislature.³⁰ What he discovered must have convinced him that his chances of success were remote. Fletcher's political actions had aroused the suspicions of many Radicals; they felt that he was not a "true" Radical. "Where I meet one in favor of Fletcher, there are ten in favor of Drake," wrote a Radical of St. Louis to his representative. "In my opinion it will end the political career of any Union man that opposes his election for the senatorship. . . . I advise you, as your friend, stand by Drake."³¹ His term of office was only half over and some were solicitous that he remain in the governor's chair. Among the Germans, Fletcher had never been very popular; his candidacy was regarded by them as the lesser of two evils. What active support he had was found in southwestern Missouri.³² Conservatives watched with hopeful interest the course of events in the ranks of their opponents. In the event of a possible Radical deadlock some believed that a coalition of moderate Radicals and Conservatives might be successful.³³ Disaffections among the Radicals on other matters were reported to be alarming, and through them the election of Drake might be prevented.³⁴

²⁷*Democrat*, Nov. 23, 1866.

²⁸*Republican*, Nov. 14, 1866.

²⁹*Democrat*, Nov. 25, Dec. 1, 3, 1866, and articles from the Radical press; *Sentinel*, Dec. 7, 1866; *Excelsior*, Dec. 22, 1866; *People's Tribune*, Dec. 5, 1866; also *Statesman*, Dec. 14, 1866.

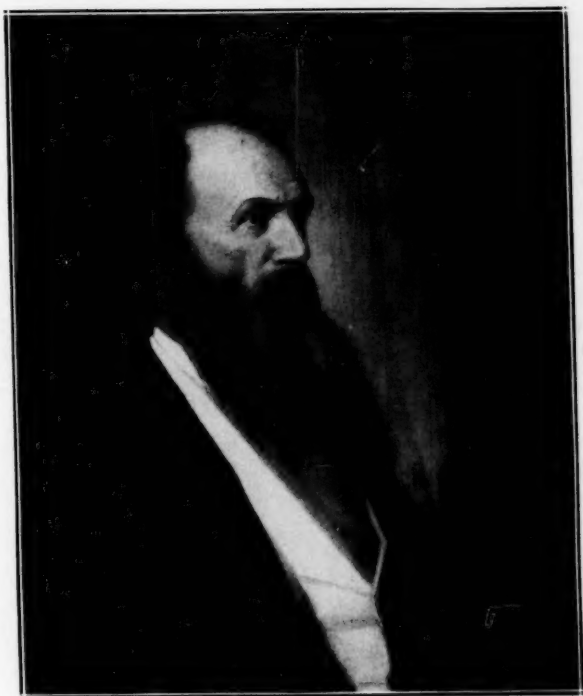
³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹R. H. Cooper to C. H. Branscomb, Jan. 1, 1867, *Darby Papers*.

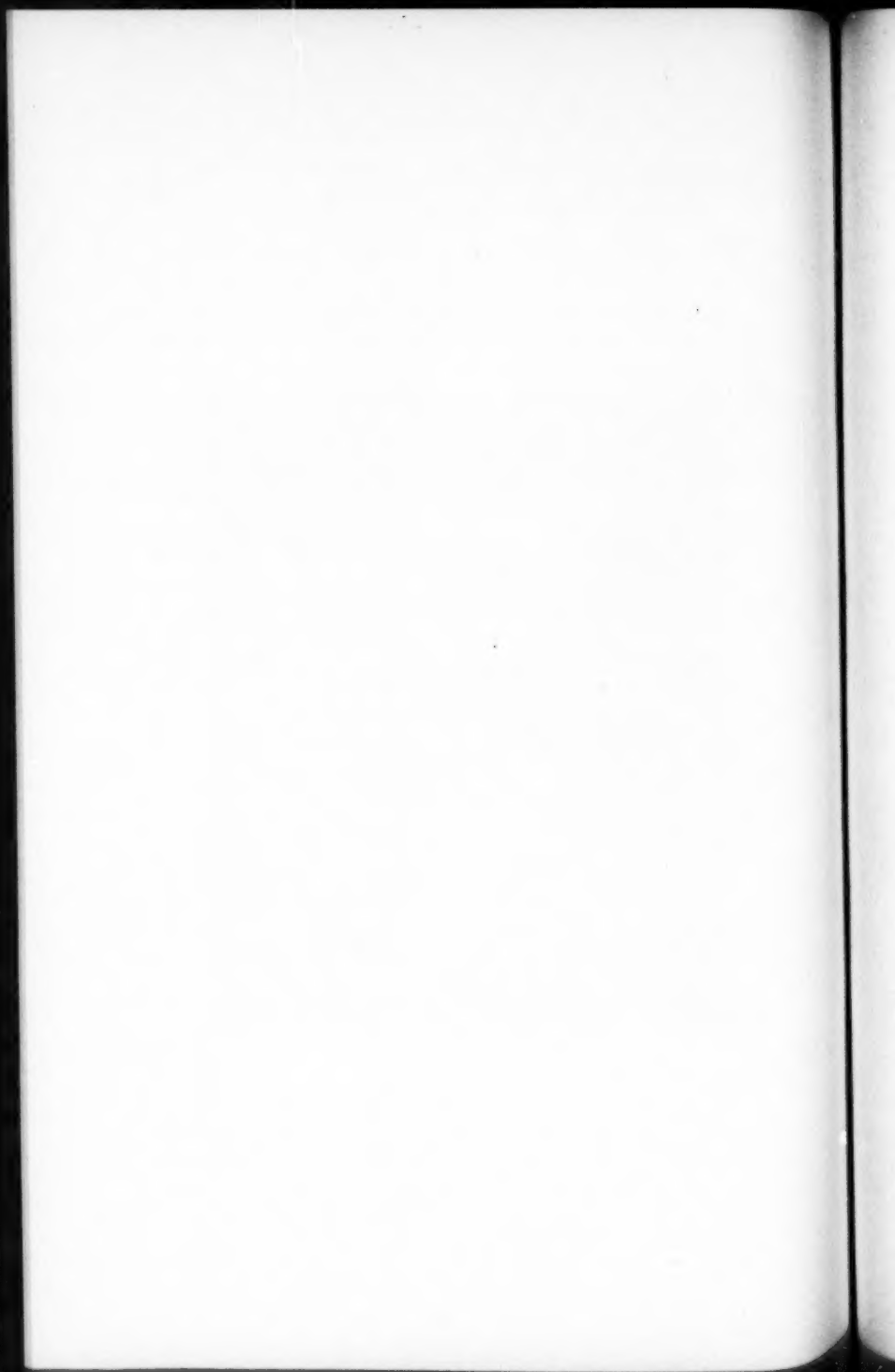
³²*Democrat*, Dec. 3, 1866.

³³S. M. Breckenridge to Rollins, Jan. 9, 1867, *Rollins Papers*.

³⁴Breckenridge to Rollins, Jan. 12, 1867, *ibid.*



JAMES S. ROLLINS



The selection of a United States senator came before the Legislature shortly after it had organized. In the first Radical caucus a somewhat surprising opposition to Drake was shown.³⁸ It was fostered by certain of the Missouri delegation in Congress and by a few of those who had attended the Planters House meeting.³⁹ It was alleged that the opponents of Drake desired to name a man upon whom Conservatives and anti-Drake could unite; a truly difficult task.⁴⁰

In a long Radical caucus on January 7, some 20 members left the Hall, declaring they would not support Drake.⁴¹ "Drake was present at the caucus and cracked his whip like the tyrant he is known to be," wrote an unfriendly observer.⁴² Before the revolt reached alarming proportions, however, Fletcher formally withdrew as a candidate. He announced that he desired to serve his term as governor and to continue the "energetic Radical policy."⁴³ Fletcher was greatly embittered by the attacks made on him; he felt convinced that his services to the party had been unrecognized and unappreciated.⁴⁴ Conservatives generally regarded the governor's action as an impressive gesture.⁴⁵

The sudden withdrawal of Fletcher left his supporters without a candidate and the opposition to Drake became too scattered to be effective.⁴⁶ At the third caucus he received 70 votes and was declared to be the nominee.⁴⁷ In his acceptance, Drake asked for party harmony and predicted that his absence in Washington would not weaken Radicalism in Missouri.⁴⁸ With the Radicals united, the actual election became a mere formality. The Con-

³⁸*Statesman*, Jan. 11, 1867.

³⁹*Herald*, Jan. 11, 1867.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1867; *Statesman*, Jan. 18, 1867.

⁴¹*Herald*, Jan. 8, 1867.

⁴²*Statesman*, Jan. 25, 1867.

⁴³*Democrat*, Jan. 9, 1867.

⁴⁴"I have sworn," he wrote to Grosvenor, "and never will recant that there is no office in the United States that I would accept under any circumstances. Never! Never! Once out of this I will be a Free Man and remain free The Lord knows what I would have done if I had not owned a good deal of land so as to be able to sell some of it every few months to pay the expense of acting as Governor for Radical Missouri." Feb. 25, 1867. *Grosvenor Papers*.

⁴⁵*Republican*, Jan. 11, 1867.

⁴⁶*Democrat*, Jan. 11, 1867.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

servatives gave their support to Frank P. Blair, and used the occasion to praise that veteran leader. In the Senate, the vote stood, Drake 23, Blair, 6;⁴⁶ in the House, Drake, 86, Blair, 33.⁴⁷

Drake's speech of acceptance delivered before the Legislature was as narrow and partisan as its author. He gave unqualified approval to the policies of Congress and to negro suffrage.⁴⁸ He was pleased to dwell at considerable length on the past glories of Radicalism but gave little hint as to what the future policy might be. The moderates of the party could not hope for support for their ideas from the "Original Radical."

In the early days of the session a leading Radical, Winters, had introduced in the Senate "An Act to Amend the Constitution and secure Impartial Suffrage."⁴⁹ A second measure of the same character was later introduced by Winters and it was endorsed by the leaders.⁵⁰ It evidently had the approval of the party caucus, although several German Radicals, notably Bruere and Woemer, favored bills which would not only admit negroes to the elective franchise but would grant them certain civil rights, such as equal rights in hotels and in public conveyances.⁵¹ Bruere's bill provided for an abolition of the oath of loyalty for teachers, preachers, and lawyers; but the decision in the Cummings case rendered this nugatory.⁵²

The Radical leaders were not disposed to complicate the situation by discussions of various related topics.⁵³ At a secret caucus it was agreed that the question of negro suffrage should not be made contingent upon any other issue. To avoid the introduction of useless or dangerous bills on this subject, it was decreed that no bill should be submitted without first having secured the consent of the caucus.⁵⁴ Party discipline thus prepared the way

⁴⁶*Senate Journal*, 24th General Assembly, p. 68.

⁴⁷*House Journal*, 24th General Assembly, p. 78.

⁴⁸*Democrat*, Jan. 17, 1867.

⁴⁹*Senate Journal*, 24th General Assembly, p. 38.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁵¹*Democrat*, Feb. 25, 1867.

⁵²*Statesman*, Jan. 18, 1866.

⁵³There was unexpected opposition to the proposition in the caucus and considerable wrangling. *Herald*, Jan. 31, 1867.

⁵⁴*Democrat*, Feb. 8, 1867.

for the original measure; it passed the Senate some weeks later by a large majority.⁵⁵

The House immediately began consideration of the Senate proposal. There was a prolonged and acrimonious debate. While there were some enthusiastic advocates of negro suffrage in that body, led by two somewhat recalcitrant German Radicals, the Conservative minority fought without intermission a plan by which thousands of negroes would be admitted to privileges denied to a far greater number of whites.⁵⁶ Some Radicals, too, were hostile to the proposed amendment and gave little assistance to the majority.⁵⁷ "I have hopes of getting some of those now opposed to change their views," wrote the Governor. "I think it can be got through."⁵⁸

This forecast proved correct. After a series of conferences the bill passed, although more than half of the votes cast against it were those of Radicals.⁵⁹ The measure was promptly approved by the Governor. The proposed amendment was to be voted on at the general election of 1868. It eliminated the word "white" as a qualification for voting; no changes were made in any other clauses in the suffrage qualifications, and nothing was said in regard to office holding.⁶⁰ Amendments were offered striking out the word "white" wherever it occurred and extending to negroes certain civil rights but they failed by narrow margins.⁶¹

No other legislation of a pronounced partisan character came before the Legislature. It had been the desire of some members "to make this a short session and adjourn over until next winter to await further developments of sentiment and circumstances."⁶² The proposed suffrage amendment was well received in official

⁵⁵*Senate Journal*, 24th Gen. Assembly, pp. 280-81.

⁵⁶*Statesman*, March 15, 1867.

⁵⁷*Tribune*, March 1, 1867.

⁵⁸Fletcher to Grosvenor, Feb. 25, 1867, *Grosvenor Papers*.

⁵⁹*House Journal*, 24th Gen. Assembly, p. 556; Switzler, *Missouri*, pp. 461-62.

⁶⁰For the text, see *Missouri Laws*, 1866-67, pp. 11-12.

⁶¹*House Journal*, 24th Gen. Assembly, pp. 410-11, 504, 525.

⁶²A. D. Hathaway to H. D. Cutter, *Excelsior*, Jan. 19, 1867.

circles; there was no intimation that the suggestions of these Planters House meetings were of any importance.⁴³

After the adjournment of the Legislature there ensued in Missouri a period of political calm which lasted for almost a year. Drake entered the Senate on March 4, 1867, and supported with obvious enthusiasm all the Reconstruction measures of his party.⁴⁴

The Supreme Court of Missouri in a series of important decisions, somewhat reluctantly recognized the doctrines of the higher court in the Cummings case. It accepted the authority of the decision as establishing the rule in similar cases and dismissed some five cases which had been appealed, involving the oath of loyalty for clergymen and for lawyers.⁴⁵ In the humiliating abandonment of the doctrine which it had announced in the Cummings and Garesche cases,⁴⁶ the Court was somewhat apologetic and sought refuge in platitudinous discourse. A teacher who had been indicted and faced trial for failing to take the oath while continuing functions of her office, was rescued from her unfortunate predicament when the Court further extended the principles of the Cummings decision so as to include teachers and professors in educational institutions.⁴⁷ Finally, the Cummings case was recognized as binding in all cases where the right to exercise any trade, calling, or profession was involved.⁴⁸ Those decisions effectively removed from the field of partisan controversy further agitation over the oath of loyalty in what might be termed its social or professional application. Memories of the "martyrdom" endured by lawyers, preachers, and teachers remained and constituted a favorite and effective theme for Democratic orators for a quarter of a century.

Two other decisions of the Court, however, gave a disagreeable shock to those Conservatives who had sanguinely expected

⁴³*Democrat*, March 14, 1867. For divergent opinions in regard to the Legislature, see S. Waterhouse to Branscomb, Jan. 1, 25, 1867; I. H. Sturgeon to Branscomb, Jan. 9, 1867, *Darby Papers*.

⁴⁴McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 262-63.

⁴⁵*Murphy and Glover Test Oath Cases*, (1867) 41 Mo. 339. For lawyers, reliance was also placed upon *ex parte Garland* (1867) 4 Wallace 333.

⁴⁶(1865) 36 Mo. 256, 263.

⁴⁷*State v. Highland*, (1867) 41 Mo. 388.

⁴⁸*State v. Neal*, (1868) 41 Mo. 118.

that the oath for voters and for office holders would meet a similar fate. In a unanimous decision, rendered two months after the verdict in the Cummings case, the Missouri court held that the right to vote was not a natural right but a political privilege conferred by the state.⁶⁰ The court rejected the long and learned arguments of the Conservative leaders, Gantt and Glover,⁶¹ to the effect that the oath was *ex post facto* and a bill of attainder, and declared that the elective franchise might be enlarged or restricted, granted or withheld as the State deemed best.⁶² The oath of loyalty was held to be a proper qualification for voting and the judges with enthusiasm rejected all of Blair's contentions.⁶³ The effect of this decision was of great practical significance because unless the United States Supreme Court, to which an appeal was at once taken, rendered its verdict before the election of 1868, the Radicals would gain politically. This was chilling news to early enthusiasts who had welcomed the Cummings decision as the beginning of the end of Radicalism. To Blair the decision was not surprising. He had been convinced that the Court was but the subservient partisan of the Radical machine and that the judges feared removal by address of the Legislature if they declared unconstitutional the test oath for voters. "I will take the case to the Supreme Court of the United States," he wrote, "which is beyond the reach of that august body."⁶⁴

The requirement of the test oath for candidates for office was also upheld by a unanimous court at the same time and for the same reason.⁶⁵ The power to declare what constituted the test of eligibility for office was said to be as clear and unquestionable as the power to fix the qualifications of voters.⁶⁶ The State, in effect, having the sovereign power to prescribe the qualifications and conditions of its electorate and its office holders could impose

⁶⁰Blair v. Ridgely, et al., (1867) 41 Mo. 63.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 64-133.

⁶²Ibid., p. 178.

⁶³Statesman, May 17, 1867.

⁶⁴Blair to J. E. Belch, Tribune, March 22, 1867.

⁶⁵State v. Woodson, (1867) 41 Mo. 227.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 227-28.

upon both an oath of loyalty without in any way violating the Constitution of the United States.

Evidences of smouldering partisanship likewise were seen in the impeachment and trial of Walter King, circuit judge of the fifth district. The chief "misdemeanor" which this jurist had committed was his well-known political opposition to the Radicals. He had early declared the test oath for lawyers to be invalid,¹⁶ and his instructions to Grand Juries had aroused the deep-seated hostility of the majority.¹⁷ Under these conditions the result was a foregone conclusion, and King was removed from office by a party vote of 23 to 8.¹⁸ It was a source of disappointment to several that other Conservative Unionists could not be impeached and removed.¹⁹

Late in the spring of 1867 an important addition was made to the staff of the *Westliche Post*, the most influential German language paper published in the west. Emil Pretorious, the proprietor and owner, builded better than he knew when he persuaded Carl Schurz to leave the editorship of a Detroit journal to become a proprietor and editor of the *Post*.²⁰ Schurz was thirty-eight years of age and during his fifteen years' residence in America had laid the foundations for a public career which was to rival those of two other foreign born statesmen, Hamilton and Gallatin.

Although Schurz had been active in politics almost from the time of his arrival in the United States, few would have predicted his sensational rise to power in Missouri. Within less than two years he took his place in the United States Senate, a figure with a national reputation. Schurz owed his success not only to his conspicuous ability as a speaker, but to his unusual position as a leader of, and spokesman for, the German element. As a writer and speaker, either in English or in German, Schurz was extremely valuable in campaigns while the facility with which he adapted himself to the conditions of American politics enhanced his

¹⁶*Dispatch*, Sept. 14, 1865.

¹⁷*Annual Cyclop.*, 1867, p. 522.

¹⁸*Statesman*, June 14, 1867.

¹⁹*Tribune*, June 7, 1867.

²⁰Schurz, *Reminiscences*, vol. III, pp. 256-57.

value as a party leader. In St. Louis the German influence was very strong and Schurz was apparently well pleased with the situation.⁸¹ To the more liberal branch of his party Schurz brought leadership, a factor of success which it lacked. Brown had not retained the confidence of his party; Henderson was soon to be utterly repudiated; Schurz was fortunate in that he had no part in past state issues which would embarrass him, while he represented a constituency which composed about 35 per cent of Radical strength and voting power.

The defeat of the Conservative Unionist party in Missouri left no organized opposition to Radicalism. During the political interlude in state affairs which lasted until the fall of 1867, there was much restless uncertainty among Conservative leaders of Whig antecedents who had been dismayed by the collapse of their carefully reared organization. It was not to be expected that they would continue long in a position of virtuous detachment from political activity. They might have attempted to reconstruct the Conservative party and to enter the campaign of 1868 under its banner. The alternative which seemed at once most obvious and most practical was a merger of all anti-Radicals into a rejuvenated Democracy.

The first movement toward the reorganization of the Missouri Democracy came, however, from former Democrats. In many states of the north and west, the party was showing definite signs of renewed activity and success, and Missouri Democrats felt that the time had come for a similar attempt in their state. In St. Louis a local Democratic committee had continued in innocuous existence, and in that city, on February 22, 1867, a Democratic revival meeting was held.⁸² Here the emphasis was placed on the necessity of organizing the Democratic party throughout the State, "in every ward and township, that measures may be taken speedily to convoke its representatives in State Convention, for the promotion of its interests and its thorough re-establishment."⁸³

⁸¹Carl Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Frederic Bancroft, ed. (New York, 1913), vol. I, p. 418.

⁸²*Democrat*, Feb. 22, 23, 1867.

⁸³*Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1867.

The early results of this meeting were distressingly meagre. It appeared that a tactical error had been made in holding it so long before the campaign of 1868 was to begin. Some Democrats were skeptical of any reorganization. "I do not want to see an attempt made to reorganize the Democratic party in Missouri at present," wrote a local leader, "indeed, I am not certain that it will ever do to attempt it. . . . (but) there is a disposition . . . to reorganize it in the northeast."¹¹ Throughout the summer intermittent rallies were held but they were of little significance.¹² The non-Democratic elements among the Conservatives had not yet fully decided upon their future course of political action.

In the autumn of 1867, however, there were manifestations of renewed activity. The elections in 1867 had resulted in some notable Democratic victories while constitutional amendments embodying negro suffrage were defeated in four northern states.¹³ Even in Radical Missouri signs of the times were not wanting. Rallies and conferences became increasingly frequent; the circulation of the *Times*, a militant Democratic newspaper in St. Louis, showed a startling increase, and the general tone of the minority became more cheerful.¹⁴ Tangible and gratifying results were seen in a special election to fill a vacancy in Congress. Here the Democratic candidate, J. R. McCormick, was successful by a narrow margin.¹⁵ The Secretary of State who desired to continue the process of political legerdemain by which he exercised judicial powers and eliminated certain returns for the benefit of his party requested an official opinion as to his powers under the law. Rodman was informed by the Attorney-General that he was a returning officer, not a judicial official and could exercise no right of inquiry but consider only the abstracts as returned by the several county clerks.¹⁶

Democratic successes in the nation gave a needed impetus to the reconstruction of the party in Missouri. Prominent Con-

¹¹H. J. Drummond to Rollins, April 22, 1867. *Rollins Papers*.

¹²G. C. Bingham to Rollins, July 10, 1867, *ibid.* *Statesman*, Aug. 2, 1867.

¹³Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁴*Statesman*, Aug. 2, Oct. 18, 1867; *Republican*, Oct. 14, 1867; *Tribune*, Nov. 8, 1867.

¹⁵*Statesman*, Nov. 22, 1867.

¹⁶*Statesman*, Dec. 27, 1867.

servative Unionists, who before the war had been Democrats, demonstrated in convincing fashion the necessity of establishing in Missouri a party which was unified in a national organization.⁸⁰ Former Whigs and other opponents of the old Democracy were called upon to aid in the consolidation of all the forces of anti-Radicalism.⁸¹ "The Democracy of Missouri," wrote the President of the State Association, "downtrodden and oppressed for a period of six years, hunted and hounded like wild beasts, are still bound to the iron hoofs of Radicalism," but were hopeful for success in 1868.⁸²

The campaign may be said officially to have begun in December 1867, when a new organization called the Democratic Association, a body new in name but not in principle, urged a revival of the Democratic party.⁸³ The method recommended was the formation in each township of a local association. The sponsors for the new organization included some of the traditional Conservative opponents of Radicalism and a new group with miscellaneous political antecedents.⁸⁴ The response was immediate and favorable, despite the winter season which was decidedly unpropitious for political gatherings and formal canvassing.

During the early months of 1868, the laborious process of creating a state-wide organization continued. The Democratic plan of organization included the headquarters at St. Louis, a central association in each county at the county seat, with a President and other officers and committees. Representatives from each township and the county officials made up the Executive Committee. In each township, also, was a local club. Communication was thus made easy.⁸⁵

Some anxiety was entertained that the Whig strongholds would regard unfavorably any merger with their former Democratic opponents but it proved groundless. The support of this

⁸⁰Statement of S. T. Glover, *ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1867.

⁸¹*People's Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1867.

⁸²C. A. Mantz to New York Democracy, Nov. 7, 1867, *Johnson Papers*. Also Ranney to Johnson, Oct. 13, 1867, *ibid.*

⁸³*Address to the Democracy of Missouri*, (St. Louis, 1867), *passim*.

⁸⁴*Statesman*, Dec. 27, 1867. "We are going to make a mighty effort to break the shackles on our limbs," wrote a Democratic leader, "so as to enfranchise our people who are now anything but free men." L. V. Bogy to Johnson, Jan. 2, 1868, *Johnson Papers*.

⁸⁵*People's Tribune*, Feb. 19, 1868.

element was essential to Democratic success, and it was soon evident that it would be enthusiastically given. Acting on the advice of a veteran leader that "names are nothing, principles are everything," the new alignment of forces was formed through the counties of central Missouri.⁹⁸ Even in those portions of the State where Radicalism flourished, serious and fairly successful efforts were made to construct a Democratic organization. At the county and township meetings a goodly attendance of Democrats joined in the proceedings and took a leading position. "Men were in town who had not ventured here since before the war," wrote an observer in a Radical county.⁹⁹ In southwestern Missouri, it was said that the "spirit of Democracy" was beginning to develop in nearly every county.¹⁰⁰

Conspicuous in every Democratic meeting was a discussion of the proposed negro suffrage amendment. To the Democrats negro suffrage was intolerable; odious and degrading under any condition to many, its introduction while thousands of whites were disfranchised seemed outrageous to all. Comments ranged from strong protests to belligerent defiance.¹⁰¹ By the end of February the Democrats were organized in some 65 or 70 counties of the State, and an energetic policy had been inaugurated by their leaders.¹⁰² The transition from Conservative Unionist to Democrat was made without explanation or apology by many.

In point of fact, the issues discussed and the resolutions adopted at these earlier Democratic gatherings were not far different from those of the Conservative Unionists of 1865-66. If alliance with the Democracy was distasteful to some, and it no doubt was, Radicalism was even more so and they chose the

⁹⁸*Statesman*, Jan. 3, 17, 24, Feb. 14, 28, April 10, 1868; *Chillicothe Constitution*, *Mexico Messenger*, *Macon Times*, Jan. 17, Feb. 14, 1868. *Lincoln Herald*, Feb. 27, 1868.

⁹⁹*Excelsior*, Feb. 8, 1868. See, also, *History of Nodaway County*, p. 489; *History of Adair County*, p. 72; *History of Holt and Atchison Counties*, p. 556.

¹⁰⁰*Springfield Leader*, in *People's Tribune*, Feb. 5, 1868.

¹⁰¹Examples in *Statesman*, Feb. 2, 1868, "This is a white man's government, made by white men, for white men and their posterity forever. Down with the nigger. Down with the test oath and registration." *St. Joseph Vindicator*, in *Excelsior*, Feb. 8, 1868. *Lincoln Herald*, Jan. 2, 1868.

¹⁰²*Tribune*, Feb. 28, 1868; Broadhead, Able, and others to Johnson, Feb. 13, 1868; communications to Johnson from various County Committees, Feb. 1868, *Johnson Papers*.

lesser of two evils. "Only by combining all forces can the Radicals be defeated; this means that ancient prejudices must be thoroughly forgotten," warned a Democratic leader.¹⁰¹

The Radicals gave no indication that the new Democracy was a rival greatly to be feared, although it was charged that the Democratic clubs and associations were acting with the Knights of the Golden Circle and similar groups.¹⁰² "The Democracy are welcome to all the crumbs of success they can pick up in the odd years, the Republicans will take the loaves in the even years," declared Drake.¹⁰³ To counteract the activity of the Democrats, suggestions were made that the Radical organization be strengthened.¹⁰⁴ There was a notable lack of enthusiasm in Radical ranks for negro suffrage; a fact which aroused the ironical comment of their opponents.¹⁰⁵ Drake came unwillingly to the conclusion that a formal endorsement was necessary for negro suffrage.¹⁰⁶ The sentiments he held were expressed in a letter to a member of the Legislature.¹⁰⁷

"I see no reason for any difference of opinion in our party over it," said a St. Louis Radical. "In providing separate submission every Republican or Democrat will be left to vote for or against without at all affecting the general or local tickets. I believe many opponents of our party will vote for suffrage while many too of our party, who have not overcome the prejudice, will vote against it."¹⁰⁸ The attitude of many Radicals in the Legislature was to submit the amendment without any definite advocacy of it. If it was defeated the blame could not be placed on the party. To make ratification a party measure was not desirable nor could it be done without a struggle.¹⁰⁹ At the State Convention in February, 1868, the leaders of the program apparently favored negro suffrage and a resolution was adopted endorsing it.¹¹⁰

¹⁰¹Bogy to I. W. Boulware, in *Statesman*, April 17, 1868.

¹⁰²*American*, March 20, 1868.

¹⁰³C. D. Drake, *Radicalism Vindicated*, (Washington, 1867), p. 11.

¹⁰⁴*Democrat*, Dec. 21, 1867; *Sentinel*, Feb. 28, 1868.

¹⁰⁵*People's Tribune*, Jan. 15, 1868.

¹⁰⁶C. I. Filley to C. H. Branscomb, Jan. 8, 1868, *Darby Papers*.

¹⁰⁷*Democrat*, Jan. 9, 1868.

¹⁰⁸Filley to Branscomb, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹*American*, Feb. 20, 1868.

¹¹⁰*Statesman*, Feb. 28, 1868, March 20, 1868; *Annual Cyclop.*, 1868, p. 520.

Meanwhile, the Legislature convened for its second session, and it soon developed that the Radicals had evolved a most efficacious plan for counteracting any rising discontent or formidable opposition. Sagacious Radical politicians realized that a drastic revision of the existing Registry Law was imperative. The Radical majority in each House was so large as to render unnecessary any compromise measure, and the bill which was finally agreed on constituted the apogee of partisan legislation.

It was notoriously evident that this new legislation was designed for the campaign of 1868. In each House a special committee was named in whose general charge the proposed legislation lay.¹¹¹ As there was among the Radicals unanimity of agreement,¹¹² it was considered a waste of time to accord to the minority any opportunity for prolonged discussion. Accordingly, the measure was passed hurriedly and with scant consideration for the sensibilities of Democratic members.¹¹³ The measure received the support of the normal Radical majority, and all efforts by the opposition to lessen its rigor failed.¹¹⁴

The new law amended in several important particulars the original act of 1866.¹¹⁵ The powers of the county supervisors of registration, who were elected officials, were curtailed or partially transferred to a newly created official, Superintendent of Registration. The latter officer was to be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, "one for each senatorial district."¹¹⁶ The change in method of selection prevented the Democratic and Conservative counties from electing an official of their faith and made more certain an "efficient" and uniform administration of the law by partisans of the existing regime.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹*Senate Journal*, 24th Gen. Assembly, Adj. Sess., p. 335; *House Journal*, *ibid.*, p. 47; *Tribune*, Jan. 31, 1868.

¹¹²*Excelsior*, March 21, 1868.

¹¹³*Senate Journal*, pp. 324, 379, 490; *House Journal*, pp. 271, 403, 407, 591; *Statesman*, April 3, 1868.

¹¹⁴*Senate Journal*, p. 390; *House Journal*, pp. 619-622; *Tribune*, March 20, 1868.

¹¹⁵*Missouri Laws*, 1868, pp. 131-41.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, Sec. 1.

¹¹⁷Those Conservative officials elected in 1866 were simply legislated out of office.

In each county, other powers formerly vested in the supervisor were given to a Board of Registration whose three members were appointed by the Superintendent and removed by him at any time "for incompetence or for any other cause."¹²⁰ The appointment of election judges was taken from the county courts and lodged in the Board of Registration, which further centralized the administration of the law.¹²¹ It was the duty of this Board to conduct the registration process and together with the county supervisor to form a Board of Review.¹²² This latter Board was given wide discretionary powers in regard to the arrangement of the list of qualified and disqualified voters, and assumed the powers of a circuit court in its administration of the law.¹²³ In order to prevent the interference by the ordinary courts of justice in the process of registration, the circuit courts were forbidden to issue any mandamus or other process to compel any board of registration or of review either to add or to remove any name from the list of qualified voters.¹²⁴ If the Board were threatened or intimidated it could adjourn to any other locality in the county.¹²⁵

These important changes were welcomed by Radicals throughout the State who regarded the amended law as a distinct improvement, whose provisions would make more certain a uniform enforcement.¹²⁶ Shortly before adjournment the Governor appointed and the Senate confirmed the Superintendents of Registration in each of the thirty-four senatorial districts.¹²⁷ All shades of the opposition to Radicalism united in denunciation of these additional legal thumbscrews which were attacked as unwarranted and intolerable.¹²⁸

Blair was bitterly hostile to the new law and wrote Rollins urging him, in a peremptory tone, to combat the obnoxious

¹²⁰Sec. 2; also *Tribune*, Jan. 31, 1868.

¹²¹Sec. 15.

¹²²Sec. 11.

¹²³Sec. 20.

¹²⁴Sec. 41.

¹²⁵Sec. 38. There were special provisions for the city of St. Louis, see secs. 31-35.

¹²⁶*American*, April 16, 1868; *Democrat*, March 21, 1868.

¹²⁷*Statesman*, April 3, 1868.

¹²⁸*Statesman*, March 6, 1868, March 20, 1868; *Lincoln Herald*, March 19, 1868, March 26, 1868; *Switzler*, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

measure in the legislature and before the people. "You should make up your mind to attack this new registration with all your power . . . it is your duty to oppose it, oppose it and denounce it with all the power and ability of which you are a master. You are losing control of the men who are opposing Radicalism and view your course with suspicion. We have need of men of moderation and good sense, there are none in the ranks of the Radicals and few in our own. . . . Let your voice be heard over the State against this infamous measure."¹²⁷

After their defeat in the State election of 1866, some Conservatives continued to struggle for control of the federal patronage in Missouri. The administration was entirely willing to assist in this process but the hostile majority in the Senate systematically rejected Johnson's appointments. Twice Blair was nominated as minister to Austria and twice the Senate rejected the nomination.¹²⁸ Numerous other federal appointments were rejected by the Senate,¹²⁹ and the national administration forces in the State became somewhat discouraged.

In some instances a compromise was arranged between contending factions and the positions divided between Radicals and Conservatives or Democrats.¹³⁰ An analysis of the political affiliation of some five applicants showed three Conservatives and two Radicals supported by Henderson.¹³¹ The results of this plan were very unsatisfactory to some Conservatives who charged that the Radicals were securing an undue allocation of the positions.¹³² The result of the division of the positions was that neither side was satisfied and each charged the other with bad faith.

When Stanton was finally removed from office, in August 1867, Missouri leaders again began strongly to press Blair's

¹²⁷Blair to Rollins, March 15, 1868, *Rollins Papers*.

¹²⁸*Statesman*, March 15, 1867, April 17, 1867. "I feel very little concerned about the rejection of my nomination by the Senate," he wrote to the President, March 3, 1867. *Johnson Papers*.

¹²⁹*Statesman*, March 15, 1867, April 5, 19, 1867.

¹³⁰Browning to Rollins, May 18, 1867, *Rollins Papers*; A. D. Richardson to Johnson, March 29, April 9, 1867, *Johnson Papers*.

¹³¹Henderson to Johnson, April 9, 1867, *Johnson Papers*.

¹³²J. B. Eads to Johnson, April 9, 1867, *ibid.*; Noell to Moore, April 16, 1867, *ibid.*; Noell to Johnson, April 12, 1867, *ibid.*

claims for the vacant cabinet position. "You want a man of courage, sagacity, ability, and character" declared a representative of the St. Louis Conservatives "Frank P. Blair of Missouri is the man."¹³² Gideon Wells, who cordially hated Stanton, likewise desired to see Blair in the Cabinet. "Were Frank Blair appointed," he wrote, "Stanton, who though a blusterer, is a coward, would fly out of one door as Frank entered at the other."¹³³

During the spring of 1868, when plans were being formulated for the State campaign, the trial of Johnson occurred. Henderson had been claimed by both sides,¹³⁴ but his early attitude was uncertain and the Radicals used partisan influence of every sort in an endeavor to secure his approval for conviction. When Henderson spoke against the first eight articles of impeachment and dined with Chase, the gloomiest of forebodings arose among the Radicals.¹³⁵ The Radical Congressmen from Missouri entered the contest at this point and informed Henderson in the most dictatorial fashion that the party in the State favored conviction¹³⁶ and demanded that if he would not vote for it, he should withhold his vote.¹³⁷ Henderson, after some indecision, refused to resign and told the Representatives of his State that he would vote as he deemed best.¹³⁸ When the vote on the eleventh article was taken, Henderson, "though the eyes of the Missouri representatives burnt with a wicked light," voted "not guilty."¹³⁹

When the Radicals in Missouri received this unwelcome news a storm of vituperation was hurled at the unfortunate

¹³²Bart Abel to Johnson, Sept. 16, 1867, *ibid.*; Bogy to Johnson, Sept. 7, 1867, *ibid.*; A. W. Alexander to Johnson, Sept. 8, 1867, *ibid.*

¹³³*Diary*, Vol. III, pp. 165-66, 231.

¹³⁴DeWitt, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 521.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 525.

¹³⁷*Democrat*, May 13, 1865.

¹³⁸DeWitt, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 552.

¹⁴⁰For example, "He is today a worse man than Andy Johnson. He is without soul, without principles, without a single honest man as his friend . . . Long since he ought to have been spurned and driven from the society of all honorable men. Let him sink into obscurity so deep that the blast from Gabriel's trumpet shall never awaken him," in *American*, May 21, 1868; also, *Patriot*, June 27, 1868.

senior senator.¹⁴¹ His reasonable contention that the impeachment was a judicial, not a political issue, seemed further to anger them.¹⁴² Democrats who had opposed Henderson now took occasion sharply to revise their earlier estimates of his character and statesmanship.¹⁴³ The managers of the Impeachment began an "investigation" of Henderson but it ended in failure.¹⁴⁴ Despite the party's attitude, Henderson refused to leave it and announced his intention to support the state ticket of 1868 and to continue to act as a Republican.¹⁴⁵ The vote for acquittal, however, removed Henderson as a strong factor in Missouri politics. With Drake at Washington, Brown in retirement, and Henderson read out of the party, an opportunity for new leaders was presented. Two men, at least, Schurz and Grosvenor, were ready to assume the direction of the Radicals.

The reconstruction of the Democracy proceeded with renewed enthusiasm. The position of the State Central Committee became less precarious; it commenced somewhat formally to assert its leadership in the process of reorganization.¹⁴⁶ The results were distinctly encouraging and it was shortly apparent that the former Whigs were supporting the new party.¹⁴⁷ After consultation with the Democratic members of the Legislature, a date was fixed for a state convention.¹⁴⁸

This body met in May, at St. Louis; it was a consultation among those concerned with the rebuilding of the Democratic party. The delegates represented practically every county in Missouri and the meeting was "emphatically a white man's convention."¹⁴⁹ Former party names and issues were forgotten or put aside. Delegates to the national convention were selected but the chief work of significance was the election of a new State

¹⁴¹*Democrat*, May 18, 1868.

¹⁴²*Macon Times*, May 30, 1868; *Statesman*, May 22, 1868.

¹⁴³De Witt, *op. cit.*, p. 568-69.

¹⁴⁴*Lincoln Herald*, May 28, 1868, June 18, 1868; *Louisiana Republican*, in *ibid.*, June 18, 1868.

¹⁴⁵*Statesman*, Jan. 3, 1868, March 6, 1868.

¹⁴⁶*Mexico Ledger*, Jan. 10, 1868; *Macon Times*, Feb. 7, 1868; *Statesman*, April 10, 1868; *Lincoln Herald*, Jan. 2, 1868, Feb. 27, 1868; *Tribune*, May 15, 1868.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸*People's Tribune*, June 3, 1868.

Central Committee with general supervisory powers over the conduct of the campaign.¹³⁰ Several weeks later the committee, with D. H. Armstrong as chairman, formally organized. For the first time in almost a decade the Democratic party was an organized political unit. By June 1, it was clear that the contest would be waged between the Democrats and Radicals. Through the summer of 1868 the organization was perfected in many portions of the State, delegates were chosen as county conventions for the state nominating convention to be held in August, and sincere efforts made to weld the Democratic party into an effective fighting force.

The revival of the Democracy threatened to challenge continued Radical supremacy in Missouri. Leaders in that organization were not slow to see the need of supplementing the Registry Law by an organization and solidarity which would rival or surpass those of their foes.¹³¹ A state convention held in February, at Jefferson City, selected delegates to the Republican national convention.¹³² Schurz, who had returned from Germany, was named a delegate-at-large, and became chairman of the state delegation at Chicago.¹³³ The plan developed by the Radical authorities was to utilize the township committee as the basis for organization, with supplementary county and congressional committees. When the national convention assembled in May, the Radical party in Missouri was well organized and prepared for an aggressive campaign.¹³⁴ "We intend at all times to rule this State," frankly declared a Radical editor, "and our rebel opponents had as well make up their minds to quietly submit."¹³⁵

¹³⁰*Tribune*, May 22, 1868. At the convention A. A. King, W. B. Hall and J. B. McFerran, war Democrats, and J. O. Broadhead and C. H. Hardin, former Whigs, were prominent.

¹³¹*Address to the Radical Union Men of Missouri* (Washington, 1868), pp. 4-5. "In all political struggles organization is half the battle," advised Drake, "and our party is, everywhere in the state, inferior to the Democracy in organization."

¹³²*People's Tribune*, Feb. 26, 1868.

¹³³Schurz, *Reminiscences*, vol. III, p. 283.

¹³⁴*American*, April 16, 1868; *Excelsior*, June 6, 1868; *Sentinel*, April 10, 1868; *History of Green County*, p. 511; *Chillicothe Spectator*, *Southeast Enterprise*, in *ibid.*

¹³⁵*American*, April 2, 1868.

Partisans of Radical rule professed to believe that the material prosperity of the state could be directly traced to the beneficial governmental and economic policies of their party.¹⁵⁶

The Radical state convention, held in July, away from the unfriendly atmosphere of St. Louis, was controlled by Drake's followers, although the Senator was not present.¹⁵⁷ It was the largest convention the party had ever held, over seven hundred of "the staunchest, truest Radicals" being present.¹⁵⁸ The proceedings were harmonious and the nominations made and the platform adopted with scarcely any debate and without a dissenting voice.¹⁵⁹ The organization also gave official sanction and endorsement in the platform to the proposed negro suffrage amendment.¹⁶⁰ In regard to disfranchisement, the convention, while justifying disfranchisement as a just and necessary measure for the protection of loyal people and as a consequence of the conduct of Southern sympathizers, gave indication that disfranchisement could not be permanent. "We stand ready to restore every political privilege at the earliest moment consistent with state and national safety," was the declaration contained in the platform.¹⁶¹ This resolution was similar to one introduced by Schurz in the national convention and adopted without opposition.¹⁶²

In the nomination for governor, Fletcher was ostentatiously ignored by the convention and the prize bestowed upon Colonel Joseph W. McClurg, a member of Congress. McClurg, of hardly more than average ability, was regarded as one of the most narrow and partisan members of the Radical organization.¹⁶³ McClurg was a merchant and trader of southwestern Missouri and had a creditable record as a Union man in 1861 and leader of the state militia forces. He was serving his third term in Congress when nominated for governor. He was a follower, not a leader, and although loyal to Drake, was regarded rather

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, April 23, 1868.

¹⁵⁷*Democrat*, July 20, 1868.

¹⁵⁸*Excelsior*, July 25, 1868.

¹⁵⁹*American*, July 23, 1868.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁶¹*Statesman*, July 24, 1868.

¹⁶²See *Reminiscence*, vol. III, pp. 284-85.

¹⁶³"McClurg is the embodiment of all that is narrow, bigoted, revengeful, and ignorant in the Radical party." *Dispatch*, July 17, 1868.

unfavorably by the latter.¹⁶⁴ The other places on the ticket were so distributed as to give the proper personal and geographical representation of party strength.¹⁶⁵ The drastic Registry Law and the increasing immigration of Radical voters from northern communities confirmed Radical leaders in their conviction that success awaited the party in the state.¹⁶⁶

The Democratic convention meeting again at St. Louis in August, gave evidence of the general character and leadership of the new Democracy. It was "a body of influence and intelligence. Men born and reared in Missouri were there; men who own land and flocks and herds; who possess honor and patriotism. Men of character and wealth, representative citizens—in short, the governing men of Missouri."¹⁶⁷ The leaders represented adequately the diverse elements that were willing to bear the name Democrat. They included some of the earlier foes of Radicalism and others of more recent conversion. Two problems of importance confronted the delegates, the formulation of a plan, at once feasible and legal, by which the entire strength of the anti-Radicals could be brought to bear against the Registry Law, and, second, the nomination of the best available men of Union antecedents.¹⁶⁸

The convention was unable satisfactorily to solve the first question. It was easy both in the party platform and before the convention bitterly to denounce registration and its administration¹⁶⁹ but difficult to suggest methods of combatting it. The Democrats were confident that the test oath for voters would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Blair case, but it seemed certain that the decision

¹⁶⁴*Statesman*, July 24, 1868.

¹⁶⁵The faithful partisan, Rodman, received a renomination which it was said he secured by a threat to expose the methods by which the Constitution had been adopted. *Dispatch*, July 18, 1868; *Statesman*, July 21, 1868.

¹⁶⁶*Democrat*, July 13, 1868.

¹⁶⁷*Statesman*, Aug. 7, 14, 1868. "The speeches were more seditious and incendiary than any made by traitors and secessionists in 1861," declared a Radical editor. "Resistance to the laws is the keynote of our political opponents in this State." *American*, Aug. 13, 1868.

¹⁶⁸*Dispatch*, Aug. 5, 1868.

¹⁶⁹*Statesman*, Aug. 14, 1868; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1868, p. 321. *Democrat*, Aug. 7, 1868.

would not be known before the winter of 1869. When the convention adjourned no effective plan had been devised.

In its selection of a state ticket the convention was more successful. The nominee for governor was John S. Phelps, whose general availability was undisputed. He had been for twenty-five years a leader of the Missouri Democracy, had served eighteen years in Congress from a southwestern district. Phelps was a war Democrat who had supported Lincoln but never abandoned definitely his state affiliation.¹¹⁰ He had been military governor of Arkansas by the appointment of Lincoln. In northern Missouri no Democrat could have received so much support as Phelps, while in the southern and western portions of the state no one could rival him in popularity.¹¹¹ Phelps was not enthusiastic about his nomination but agreed to make the race and thoroughly to canvass the state.¹¹² The candidates for the other state offices included Norman J. Colman, well known and popular because of his long connection with the state's agricultural interests, and Bernard Poepping, "an honest German." The antecedents and careers of the nominees rendered little short of absurd any charges that they were "rebels" or rebel "sympathizers."

That the Democrats realized fully the handicaps of those terms of opprobrium was also seen clearly in the nominations for Congress. Seven of the nine candidates had active war records and had served in the Union army or in the militia.¹¹³ Many of the nominees for the Legislature likewise were known to have been northern sympathizers, and partisan accusations that the return of the Democratic party to power would be a triumph for the "rebel" element became increasingly preposterous. Under the leadership of the central committee, headed by D. H. Armstrong, the engrossing labor of rebuilding the Democratic organization continued. No attempt was made to renew past issues or to stress past party dogmas. By September, all nominations in both

¹¹⁰*Dispatch*, May 7, August 5, 1868.

¹¹¹*Lincoln Herald*, July 2, 1868; *Statesman*, July 31, 1868.

¹¹²*Tribune*, Aug. 28, 1868.

¹¹³*Statesman*, Aug. 28, 1868.

parties had been made and the campaign entered its intensive stage.¹³⁴

Interest during the latter weeks of the campaign centered in the questions of registration and of negro suffrage. Whether by conviction or by party pressure, nearly every Radical spokesman declared in favor of the suffrage amendment.¹³⁵ Some leaders were cautious and conciliatory, realizing full well the unpopularity of the amendment and fearing that too pronounced an attitude might endanger the success of the elective offices.¹³⁶ They stressed the idea of justice to the negro and the use of the ballot as an instrument for the development of a weaker race.¹³⁷ Others saw clearly the more practical aspects of the question and advocated negro suffrage because they realized that the Radicals needed the votes. The Constitution provided that after January 1, 1871, the Legislature by an absolute majority in each house could suspend or repeal the disqualifications of voters.¹³⁸ Such action, it was estimated, would restore to some fifty thousand persons the privilege of voting. Added to those Democrats already voting, the restored portion of the electorate would insure, it was feared, Democratic control. No Radical could contemplate with equanimity such a situation. "Do we want to take the risks and permit the rebels to get control of the State? Do we want to make a Kentucky of Missouri?" asked a Radical politician and editor.¹³⁹

Drake and other official Radical spokesmen continued to endorse the amendment. John B. Henderson, although unpopular with the organizations of both parties, entered the campaign as a free lance and in an extended tour sought to justify his vote for the acquittal of Johnson and to discuss the issues of the state campaign. Although it was strikingly obvious that Henderson had no chance whatever of re-election to the Senate, he felt obligated formally to disavow further political aspirations and to assume an independent attitude, satisfactory neither to Radical

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1868.

¹³⁵For expressions of the Radical editors see *Statesman*, May 29, 1868.

¹³⁶*Address of St. Louis Radicals*, (St. Louis, 1868), pp. 22-23.

¹³⁷*American*, May 21, 1868.

¹³⁸Art. II, sec. 25.

¹³⁹*American*, May 21, 1868.

nor Democrat. He pleased the former by declaring for negro suffrage and characterizing Democratic opposition as "insane prejudice."¹⁸⁰ but he aroused their intense hostility by advocating ideas decidedly alien to the established principles of Radicalism. Henderson declared on several occasions his opposition to the test oath and the system of registration.¹⁸¹ He demanded the abolition of the oath of loyalty for voters and predicted that it would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.¹⁸² He warned the Radicals that injustice was a frail foundation for party success and the harsh and extraordinary registration law was little better than the oath of loyalty.¹⁸³ "The enslavement of the white race is not likely to bring about the liberty and happiness of the negro," he wrote; "let us try the amendment, and if defeated, let us enfranchise our own race and try it again. I propose to secure the negro rights by an appeal to reason and not by the permanent enslavement of a large body of our own race."¹⁸⁴ "I announced," the Radical leader sharply replied, "my purpose to resist any such move until the ballot had been secured to the negro. To that position I intend to adhere."¹⁸⁵

As in 1866, the campaign of 1868 reached its climax during the period of registration. Early in August the superintendents of registration met informally in St. Louis and agreed upon a procedure which would supplement the provisions of the existing stringent law.¹⁸⁶ The secret character of this conference gave rise to rumors which convinced the Democrats of the sinister motives of their opponents.¹⁸⁷ The superintendents were selected from the Radical party on grounds of partisan fitness, more or less pronounced; they well recognized the importance of regis-

¹⁸⁰*Statesman*, Sept. 18, 1868.

¹⁸¹*Louisiana Journal*, Sept. 19, 1868; *Troy Herald*, October 1, 1868; *Tribune*, July 10, 1868.

¹⁸²*The Issues of the Day* (St. Louis, 1868), pp. 10-11.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁸⁴Henderson to Drake, Nov. 3, 1868; *Statesman*, Nov. 27, 1868.

¹⁸⁵Drake to Henderson, *ibid.* Drake had declared that he feared the intrigues in his own party more than all the Democratic speakers in the state, *ibid.*, July 24, 1868.

¹⁸⁶*Statesman*, Sept. 4, 1868.

¹⁸⁷*Lincoln Herald*, Aug. 20, 1868.

tration in the functioning of the political machinery of the entire state. As public officers charged with specific duties and vested with somewhat unusual powers, many displayed an inappropriate reticence concerning their policies which did much to arouse suspicion and resentment in many sections of the state.¹⁰⁰

Democratic leaders had devised a plan which was announced when registration commenced early in September. A special Committee of Thirteen urged that every Democrat offer to take the required oath and if registration was refused to appeal to the county Board of Review; failing in that to be entered on the "rejected" list. Local organization agencies were urged closely to watch the work and conduct of the registrars. The plan was based on the hope, or perhaps delusion, that the oath for voters would be declared unconstitutional and those who were rejected allowed to vote.¹⁰¹ Democratic leaders were careful to urge compliance with the law and to warn against violence and intimidation as means of party success.¹⁰² The Radicals felt it unnecessary to announce any policy in the administration of the Registry Law although Grosvenor warned the party that it could not rely too much upon disfranchisement as a method of securing loyal government and too little upon management, argument and conscious effort.¹⁰³

The actual process of registration, as conducted both by the county registry officials and by the boards of review, showed striking variations. Registration was a question concerning which the policy of the State and the sentiment of many communities were notoriously at variance. The supervision of the State authorities over the local officers was not comprehensive enough to secure any uniformity in administration. In some localities hostile public sentiment hindered Radical efficiency; in others, public opinion endorsed unsparing rigidity of enforcement, while in a few instances the officials acted in defiance of local sentiment.

¹⁰⁰*Statesman*, Aug. 28, 1868; *People's Tribune*, Sept. 9, 1868.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1868.

¹⁰²*Report, Committee of Thirteen, passim; History of Marion County*, p. 500.

¹⁰³*Democrat*, Sept. 4, 1868.

Radical counties were naturally satisfied with a rigid enforcement of the law.¹⁸² In some sections where the opposition to Radicalism was strong, registration in all its phases was conducted fairly and with little complaint.¹⁸³ In St. Louis County, 31,563 were registered and only 697 rejected,¹⁸⁴ an indication that the enforcing authorities in that anti-Radical stronghold had shown a proper consideration for its sentiments.

Other sections of the state were storm centers of partisanship and unfairness. The law was administered with peculiar severity and without much regard for public opinion. The loud and bitter Democratic complaints proved unavailing. In Pettis, Audrain, St. Francois, Bates, Cooper, Marion, Buchanan, Ray, and Clay Counties the Democrats charged the administration of the law was so arranged that it became in reality an instrument of partisan discrimination by which the opponents of Radicalism were politically eliminated.¹⁸⁵ The work of the various boards of review in several instances caused intense exasperation among Democratic communities. There were occasioned outbursts of individual wrath and some organized disorder which menaced the personal safety of the registrars or of the boards of review and threatened the general public peace.¹⁸⁶ The Radicals met Democratic charges of unfairness and fraud by counter accusations attempting to prove that their opponents had not hesitated to use violence, and to intimidate officials.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸²Counties in which registration was reported to be fair, orderly, and free from partisan prejudice include Caldwell, Livingston, St. Charles, Greene, Cedar, Davies, Warren; *Statesman*, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 23, 1868; *Excelsior*, Oct. 12, 1868.

¹⁸³Saline, Platte, Macon, Monroe, Randolph, Ralls are examples.

¹⁸⁴*Statesman*, Oct. 23, 1868.

¹⁸⁵*Statesman*, Sept. 11, 1868, Oct. 2, 1868; *Tribune*, Oct. 1, 16, 23, 1868; *Canton Press*, Oct. 1, 1868; *Lincoln Herald*, Sept. 17, 1868; *Republican*, July 10, 1868; *History of Marion County*, pp. 561-566; *History of Vernon County*, p. 355; *History of Clay and Platte Counties*, p. 261; *House Misc. Docs.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 18, pp. 3-4; *Ibid.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 152, pp. 922-29, 779-92; *Ibid.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 14, pp. 6-34.

¹⁸⁶*History of Boone County*, p. 496; *History of Vernon County*, p. 356; *Democrat*, Sept. and Oct. 1868.

¹⁸⁷*House Misc. Docs.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 18, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 152, pp. 783-84, 926-28; *Ibid.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 14, pp. 6-34.

In point of fact, it seems rather evident that certain Democratic state and local leaders did not hesitate to advocate and to employ political methods of a most dubious character. A prominent editor urged upon the State Central Committee the necessity of "getting control" of the registrars because that method seemed best calculated to insure Democratic success.¹⁹⁸ At a Democratic editors gathering the chairman of the Committee was reported to have said that "the registrars were a lot of damned rascals and that he was in favor of buying them up."¹⁹⁹ There are some evidences that the registration policy became a matter for consultation and deliberation between a few local Democratic leaders and Radical officials, while here and there circumstances seemed to give weight to the charges that there was collusion between them.²⁰⁰ In the 14th senatorial district, comprising Jackson, Bates, and Cass Counties, the superintendent, Thomas Phelan, appointed as a Radical, apparently acted with the Democrats. He removed registration officers throughout the entire district and appointed men known to be Democrats.²⁰¹ Under these new directors registration became somewhat perfunctory in character.²⁰² In certain other counties partisan pressure, looking shrewdly to practical expediency, led to laxness of administration and to allegations of secret understandings among Democratic politicians and registration superintendents.²⁰³ Indeed the attitude of the Democracy was more concerned with immediate party interest rather than any particular devotion to abstract ideals, honest elections, and a free ballot.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸Testimony of C. J. Corwin before House Committee on Elections, *House Misc. Docs.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 18, p. 27.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

²⁰⁰*House Misc. Docs.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 152, pp. 722 ff.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, p. 927; *History of Cass and Bates Counties*, p. 314.

²⁰²In Jackson County 3,284 were registered in 1866, and 5,186 in 1868, *ibid.*, p. 927.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, pp. 779-89, see also, for a mass of conflicting testimony, *ibid.*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 14, pp. 6-34. In a few counties where the Democrats were in a large majority, an attempt was made to poll a very large vote in order to carry an entire congressional or a state senatorial district, on the votes of one or two counties; *Cong. Globe*, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 5305-13.

²⁰⁴Exception must be made for the partisan and personal bias of contemporary writers and observers of the registration process. It became ingrained in the political consciousness of all Democrats that registration was a gigantic fraud, practiced in the interests of Radicalism.

In a good many counties, where the Democrats formed a majority, the registration law was administered in close conformity with the radical spirit.²⁹⁵ The law gave great power to the superintendents and to the various boards of review, and placed the operations of both beyond ordinary judicial control. In certain sections, where the Democrats had a significant minority and some hope of success, registration was so directed as to insure a full enrollment of Radicals, while in some regions where Democratic success was inevitable, the attempt was made to reduce the size of the majority, so that the Radical state and congressional tickets would not be endangered. There were, it is true, more names on the eligible lists than in 1866, and considering the state as a whole, considerably less demonstrative feeling against the enforcement officers.²⁹⁶ In a few counties the bitter hostility of the Democrats was aroused by repeated rumors that the officials were preparing in secret voting lists which excluded arbitrarily and on frivolous pretext large numbers of alleged qualified voters of their political faith.²⁹⁷ In some instances there were surreptitious meetings between Radical candidates for office and the boards of review.²⁹⁸ In a number of instances the registration officials were themselves candidates for state and local offices.²⁹⁹ In Boone county, with a total white male population over 21 years of age of 4,290, only 410 were registered as qualified voters, which resulted in the alleged disfranchisement of over 3,000 persons.³⁰⁰ In other Conservative or Democratic counties, the opponents of Radicalism became fully convinced that the entire registration system was merely a device for aiding their opponents, which was administered with notorious partisanship and with stupendous

²⁹⁵*Encyclop. of Mo. Hist.*, v. I, p. 172.

²⁹⁶*Dispatch*, Sept. 14, 1868; *Democrat*, Oct. 27, 1868.

²⁹⁷*Statesman*, Sept. 11, 1868, Oct. 31, 1868; *Lincoln Herald*, Oct. 16, 1868; *Tribune*, Oct. 11, 1868; *Canton Press*, Oct. 11, 1868.

²⁹⁸J. A. Hockaday to Rollins, Dec. 14; 1868; *Rollins Papers*. Hockaday asserted that some 500 had been stricken from the list in Callaway county by the above method.

²⁹⁹*Statesman*, Oct. 31, 1868, contains illustrations of this.

³⁰⁰*Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1868, Feb. 5, 1869.

fraud.²³¹ In total registration, a larger figure is seen in 1868 than in 1866, due partly to the increase in population from northern states and partly to a more liberal registration in sections of the State.²³²

As the campaign drew to a close, it became apparent that the Radicals would carry the presidency and the governorship but that the control of the legislature and the adoption of the impartial suffrage amendment were of considerable doubt. To the latter proposal the party organization and Drake, Brown, Henderson, and Schurz, although of singularly dissimilar and distinctive views on other political issues, were thoroughly committed.²³³ The rank and file of the Radicals were reluctant to accept the abstract dogmas that the negro was the equal of the white and entitled to the same political privileges. The attitude was similar to that of Radicals elsewhere, for constitutional amendments enfranchising the negroes had been rejected in 1867 by popular vote in Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and Kansas.²³⁴ The Democrats naturally felt that to admit to political rights an ignorant and politically untrained race while denying persistently those same privileges to white men was manifestly unjust and designed primarily to enhance the political power of Radicalism.²³⁵

During the last weeks of the campaign factional quarrels of a local character aroused the apprehension of the Radical organization and threatened temporarily to imperil the chances for an extraordinary majority in the approaching Legislature.²³⁶ The Democrats, eager to encourage these dissensions, advised the support of independent Radicals for local offices.²³⁷ Drake canvassed the State, while Schurz became well and favorably known for

²³¹In Clay county, 754 of 3,551 white males were registered; in Lincoln, 738 of 4,067; in Marion, 799 of 4,515. For additional figures, see *Tribune*, Nov. 20, 1868; *Lincoln Herald*, Oct. 29, 1868; *History of Marion County*, p. 561.

²³²*Democrat*, Oct. 27, 1868.

²³³*Democrat*, April 27, 1868; J. A. Henderson, *Issues of the Day*, passim.

²³⁴Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

²³⁵*Dispatch*, July 21, Oct. 29, 1868; *Lincoln Herald*, Oct. 29, 1868.

²³⁶*Democrat*, Sept. 4, 1868.

²³⁷*Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1868.

his timely efforts in behalf of the party.²²⁸ Two weeks before the election all signs of dissension had disappeared, and the Radicals began freely to prophesy a victory even more significant than that of 1866. Nor were they disappointed.

As the returns became known, it was at once clear that the party had won another victory. McClurg and the entire state ticket secured majorities of approximately 20,000.²²⁹ The large majority in the Legislature was maintained, thus assuring the election of a Radical United States Senator.²³⁰ The early results of the Congressional elections were somewhat more favorable to the Democrats, four of the nine apparently elected being of that political faith. Democratic hopes were likewise stimulated by the decisive defeat of the impartial suffrage amendment. It had received much opposition from certain Radical counties while the entire Democratic vote had been solidly against it. It was estimated that fully one-third of the Radicals had voted against the amendment, which to the remainder showed a want of foresight, singular and lamentable.²³¹ Border Radicals commented without reservation upon the large majority in St. Louis in opposition to negro suffrage.²³² Radical organization leaders accepted with ill grace the defeat of the amendment and announced that the chief result would be a prolongation of Democratic disfranchisement.²³³ Grosvenor, who shortly was to speak for the rising liberal element in his party, declared that if the Democrats would accept impartial suffrage, the great majority of Radicals would vote to remove all suffrage disqualifications.²³⁴

It did not require any very subtle analysis to show conclusively that the Radicals owed their success to the partisan administration of the test oath and the Registry Law. The extraordinary facilities for partisanship embodied in the registration process enabled those in control of its machinery to determine the results

²²⁸*Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1868.

²²⁹The figures were McClurg, 82,107; Phelps, 62,780.

²³⁰The Senate had 25 Radicals and 9 Democrats, the House 92 Radicals, 35 Democrats and 2 Independents, *Statesman*, Nov. 20, 1868.

²³¹*Jefferson City Times*, Nov. 28, 1868.

²³²*Missouri Patriot, Warrensburg Standard*, in *American*, Dec. 4, 1868.

²³³*Democrat*, Nov. 17, 1868.

²³⁴*Ibid.*

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of an election.²²⁸ As the machinery became centralized, new power was conferred upon those in control.

The state census of 1868 showed 275,762 white males over 21 years of age. The total vote cast in the election of 1868 was approximately 150,000. As some 25,000 were unnaturalized, there were approximately 100,000 who did not or could not vote. Grosvenor later estimated that some 60,000 were actually disfranchised in 1868,²²⁹ while Democratic claims ran as high as 100,000.²³⁰ It is clear, therefore, that the continuation of Radical success was virtually dependent upon complete or partial disfranchisement of the opposition.

The election of 1868 marked the high tide of Radical success. Party solidarity seemed to be an assured and permanent fact. In every branch of government the Radicals were supreme and Democratic chances of success, in the face of the registry law and the test oath, seemed remote. The salient features of Radical policy appeared permanent and secure. There seemed to be no force without the Radical organization which could seriously challenge the policies advocated by Drake and his followers. Only a drastic reversal of program by the Radicals themselves could mitigate or change the situation. The beginnings of such a change proved to be imminent when the General Assembly convened in January, 1869.

²²⁸The following figures, taken from typical Radical and Democratic counties, illustrate the discrepancies in the administration of the law:

County	White males over 21	Total vote
Andrew, R.	2,490	1,868
Audrain, D.	1,887	591
Boone, D.	4,290	348
Callaway, D.	2,152	535
DeKalb, R.	1,635	871
Gentry, R.	1,652	1,215
Grundy, R.	1,550	1,280
Harrison, R.	2,495	1,870
Lincoln, D.	4,067	855
Livingston, R.	3,554	1,893
Monroe, D.	2,995	1,480
Ralls, D.	1,984	418

In the election of 1860, Boone had cast 2,576 votes, Audrain 1,204, Callaway 2,446, Monroe 2,213 and Lincoln 1,748.

See *Abstract of State Census, 1868*, *passim*; *Statesman*, Nov. 20, 1868, March 5, 1869, Feb. 4, 1870; *Sentinel*, Nov. 13, 1868. It will be noted that in the Radical counties about 65% of all males over 21 participated in the election while in the Democratic counties only some 26%.

¹⁰⁰⁶*Chicago Tribune*, July 4, 1872.

¹⁰⁰⁷*Statesman*, Jan. 1, March 12, 1869; *Ledger*, March 4, 1869.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

A good piece of historical research reminds one that Goldsmith thought he had done well when he wrote four lines of poetry in a day. Goldsmith labored with "The Deserted Village" for seven years, as did Gray with his "Elegy."

In 1850 the center of farm values in the United States was near Clarksburg, West Virginia. Today it is near the corporate limits of Linneus, Missouri.

Attempts to commercialize art and literature are not new. An alderman named Barber was willing to pay 5,000 pounds to have his name embalmed in song by Pope, if only to the extent of a couplet. The poet wouldn't consider such a proposition.

Mr. Loyd Collins, teacher of Missouri history in Henry county, read in the Blue Book of 1924 the Missouri Historical Calendar compiled by the State Historical Society. He caught the idea and worked up a similar list of dates significant in the history of his own county, which was published in the *Clinton Eye*. Every Missouri county should and could have a local historical calendar. It would be used by public speakers, editors, and school children.

Every year witnesses a rising tide of state pride and public service in Missouri. Cities and towns are advancing in culture through efforts of taxpayers and gifts of citizens. Real roads are being built. Here and there a true co-operative, statewide movement, as waterway transportation and better rural education, is realized. The Missourian has been an individualist too long for sudden conversion to new principles of government, but he is moving rapidly in the direction of modern commonwealth building.

Sectionalism and provincialism are disappearing. Hospitality has long been an asset, it is now being linked with understanding. Self-satisfaction and indifference to the opinions of others are declining in Missouri. For the first time in decades the State is looking at both sides of its passbook.

In the Hotel Chase in St. Louis is a revolving metal stand filled with scenes and historic views of *Indiana*. It was placed there by the Hoosier Automobile Club. Every hour of the day and night it is advertising Indiana. It cost perhaps \$35! I wonder if the idea couldn't be adopted by Missouri? Every town, certainly every county in Missouri, could utilize such a display in its local hotel lobby. Not only travelers from abroad but Missourians as well would be educated. Here's an idea for advertising and exploiting Missouri that will not raise taxes.

The Missouri taxpayer of today pays a state property tax less than one-sixth of the state rate levied sixty years ago. The total rate today is 11¢ on the \$100 assessed valuation. In 1866 the state rate was 70¢. In both cases the state also had an income tax and in 1866 there was a state poll tax of \$1.00 on males between the ages of 21 years and 50 years of age. The 70¢ rate of 1866 was divided into a 30¢ levy to pay off the Union military bonds and a 40¢ levy for state government and state interest expenditures. No part of the general state tax revenue of 1866 was apportioned among the schools. In 1867 25% of the state revenue was given to the schools. The state revenue rate in 1867 was 25¢ and the state interest tax rate was 25¢.

Since the 1866 peak the state tax rate has been gradually declining in Missouri until today in a town like Columbia it represents only $4\frac{1}{3}\%$ of the taxpayer's annual property tax.

In that city the total tax rate (1925) is \$2.56 on the \$100 assessed valuation of real and personal property. This total rate is made up of these separate rates: State, 11¢; county revenue, 24¢;

county hospital, 12¢; special road tax, 4¢; county road and bridge, 15¢; city sewer, 10¢; city revenue, 40¢; and schools, \$1.40. Even the "state revenue" rate of 11¢ is a misnomer since it is made up of a state revenue rate of 5¢, state blind pension rate of 3¢, state soldier bonus rate of 2¢ and a state interest rate of 1¢. Of the actual state revenue rate of 5¢, one-third is set aside by the legislature for distribution among the public schools. This leaves a net state tax revenue rate of $3\frac{1}{3}\%$, which is $1\frac{1}{3}\%$ of the total tax rate of \$2.56. Compared with the rates of three score years ago the present state revenue rates, both total and net, stand out in striking contrast. In 1866 the state gave no part of its state tax revenue for public schools or university, had only one state hospital, no boys' or girls' reformatories, no normals or state teachers' colleges, no experiment stations, and a population of only 1,000,000.

JOSEPH SMITH'S PROPHECY AND ORDER NUMBER 11

BY R. W. FARRELL

In the year 1833 there had gathered in Missouri, at Independence and adjacent territory, fifteen hundred Latter Day Saints. They were mostly eastern people and strongly opposed to slavery. They were enthusiasts, believing that God had called them to represent "primitive Christianity." They planned the erection of a temple. Five hundred houses were built. Then the unexpected, but possibly inevitable, happened owing to misunderstanding, intolerance, religious prejudice, and political confusion. These American citizens were driven from Jackson county and fifteen hundred of them were brutally banished, leaving behind the flame of their burning homes.

And now comes the coincidental part of my story. In 1841 several thousand Latter Day Saints had gathered at Nauvoo, Illinois, where they hoped to accomplish in part what they had attempted in Jackson county. The foundation for a big city was laid, the first municipal university in Illinois established, and a

welcome to the rich and the poor extended to come and usher in the Golden Age and prepare the way for the Prince of Peace.

Of course it all may have been tragically visionary. We are not concerned with this aspect of the story.

A general conference of the Church was held April 6, 1841, at which time Joseph Smith delivered a message (which later was printed in the *Times and Seasons*, Volume 2, p. 424, of the year 1841, and the *Doctrine and Covenants*, edition of 1845) containing the following reference to Jackson county:

"Therefore, for this cause have I accepted the offerings of those whom I commanded to build up a city and a house unto my name in Jackson county, Missouri, and were hindered by their enemies, saith the Lord your God; and I will answer judgment, wrath and indignation, wailing and anguish, and gnashing of teeth, upon their heads, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord your God."

Students of Missouri's history know the rest. In Switzler's *History of Missouri*, we read the tragic story of "Order No. 11" on pages 424 ff. On the 25th of August, 1863, Brigadier-General Ewing issued his famous or notorious "Order No. 11." All persons living in Jackson, Cass and Bates counties were "ordered to remove from their present places of residence within fifteen days from the date hereof."

Switzler makes this comment: "As might reasonably have been expected, the publication of so extraordinary an order from a military commander occasioned the wildest excitement and alarm among the people whom it was intended most directly to affect . . . the enforcement of the Order depopulated the farming territory of the three counties. Many and sad, therefore, were the scenes of wretchedness which it occasioned."

Ibid.: "Mr. Bingham says he was in Kansas City when the Order was being enforced, and affirms from painful personal observation that the sufferings of its unfortunate victims, in many instances, were such as should have elicited sympathy even from hearts of stone. Barefooted and bareheaded women and children, stripped of every article of clothing except a scant covering for

their bodies, were exposed to the heat of an August sun and compelled to struggle through the dust on foot. . . . Dense columns of smoke arising in every direction marked the conflagration of dwellings. . . ."

"'Order No. 11,'" writes Mr. Switzler, "invokes the judgment of history."

THE CENTENNIAL BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF FRANKLIN
COUNTY, MISSOURI

Compiled and Published by HERMAN GOTTLIEB KIEL, 1925
(444 pages)

Few books of Missourians have so impressed me as the compilation just published by Herman Gottlieb Kiel titled *The Centennial Biographical Directory of Franklin County, Missouri*. It is the product of decades of labor by a painstaking, conscientious scholar. It is the fruit of the author's love for his subject and his people. Representing the most minute investigations at great pains and undoubtedly at considerable expense, it bears no evidence of commercialization.

The *Directory* contains 42,249 citations, each of which gives a name and generally a location and time indicator. These citations contain over 100,000 items of biographical information. They are classified under 88 lists or chapters. Representative of the lists together with the number of names or records in them are these headings selected at random: Pioneer Settlers, 236; Census of 1830, 522; Slaveowners in 1860, 285; Products, 267; Business Establishments, 3,258; Soldiers, War of Secession, Unionists, 3,007; Geographical Names, 536; Officers, county, etc., 589; Election Judges, 1,887; Dentists, 65; Teachers, 2,083; College Students, 2,104; Masons, 1,264; Turners, 350.

The author has compiled an unpublished collection of over 250,000 items of biographical data for a centennial biographical encyclopedia of Franklin county, Missouri. The *Directory* is based on this encyclopedia. Seldom does one obtain so many facts,

otherwise practically inaccessible, which are invaluable to historian, biographer, and genealogist, as are set forth in this work. (Address of Dr. Herman G. Kiel is 522 Harvard St., N. W., Washington, D. C.)

EARLY GUNPOWDER MAKING IN MISSOURI

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 6th, 1925.

I received my copy of *The Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1925, and note with pleasure the interest taken in the subject of Early Gunpowder Making in Missouri as evidenced by the communications published under the heading Historical Notes and Comments.

I have copied the data referred to in Mr. Hugo Schlatter's letter and below reproduce it in full from the original publication from which it was taken, from the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, Wednesday Morning, March 5, 1823: "Major James Berry has commenced the manufacture of powder in the neighborhood of this place."

From the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 9, 1833:—

"Major Philips' Eagle Powder Mills.—In company with some ten or twelve gentlemen, we recently paid a visit to the new steam powder mills erected by Major Philips, about one mile south of the city, and which have just been put into operation. We believe we express the unanimous opinion of the gentlemen present, when we say that the establishment surpasses anything of the kind in the Western country. Major Philips has introduced improvements into the various processes of manufacture, unknown in the Western country. His method of refining and crystalizing the saltpetre, and extracting from it the saline and other injurious qualities, is a very great improvement upon the usual practice of powdermakers—adding as it does, quickness, strength, and cleanliness to the powder. Other improvements are introduced, in the making of the charcoal,—the method of preparing the sulphur,—and the plan of drying the powder when finished by fire-heat, without the least danger to the persons employed. This powder, as well as some of Dupont's, Garesche's and Wade's, was submitted to the usual process, in order to test their respective qualities;

and it is but simple truth to say, that it fully equalled Dupont's celebrated Eagle Powder, and far surpassed that from other manufactories. We—that is, one of us—are addicted to the use of "villainous saltpetre," and pretend to some knowledge of its subtle qualities and can recommend the Eagle Mills Powder to sportsmen both on account of its strength and cleanliness.

"Major Philips' Powder is now for sale. He deserves, as he no doubt will receive, the encouragement of the country. The establishment has been erected at great expense, and the enterprise of the proprietor ought not to be suffered to languish. The powder can be sold as low as that manufactured by Dupont; and if any other incentive is wanting, we should remember that we are contributing to build up manufactures in our vicinity—to give employment to many industrious citizens—to retain amongst us a large sum of money, which is usually sent off in payment for this article—and to bring into use one of the valuable native productions of this country, and which forms the principal ingredient of the manufacture.

"Maj. P. has our best wishes for his success."

From the items relating to the manufacture of gunpowder for the War of 1812 in different parts of Missouri, I felt that some gunpowder factory must have been established near St. Louis at the same time. But the only mention I find of such a factory is contained in the following item from page 9 of "Some Missouri Pioneers, Their Ancestors, Descendants and Kindred From Other States by Mary Iantha Castlio."

Francis Howell built Howell Fort on Howell Prairie, (near, now, Howell Post Office) St. Charles Co., Missouri.

"Soon after his settlement there he built a mill, which was called a band-mill, because it was run by a long band. This was doubtless the first mill erected north of the Missouri river, except perhaps a small one at St. Charles. Sometime afterwards Mr. Howell built another mill on his farm, which was run by a cog-wheel and was called a cog-mill. During the War of 1812 this mill was used for the manufacture of powder."

From the evidence submitted by myself and others the conclusion is inevitable that the pioneer Missourians made their own

gunpowder wherever the raw materials were plentiful and easily obtained, and that many of the flour and grist mills, and saw-mills in the Missouri Territory were turned into powder-mills when the necessities of that war drew this frontier into the prolonged struggle.—Wm. Clark Breckenridge.

TEACHING LOCAL AND STATE HISTORY, BY LOYD COLLINS

History is defined as "the branch of knowledge that records and explains past events." But it is more than that. History is the story of the development of humanity, the lives of men and their work. Many people look upon history as very dry and uninteresting, but it is really one of the most important and interesting subjects offered in the course of study in our schools. Why is it important? Twelve reasons have been advanced why history is important:

1. To understand the world and human society as it is today.
2. To prepare us for citizenship and other public duties.
3. To train the judgment in practical affairs.
4. To cultivate patriotism.
5. To cultivate character.
6. To cultivate habits of truth and accuracy.
7. To train us how to acquire and systematize facts.
8. To train us in the intelligent use of books.
9. To cultivate the imagination.
10. To cultivate expression.
11. To enable us to appreciate literature and art.
12. To earn a livelihood.

History in the past was looked upon largely as a record or account of wars and politics, but today we look upon it in its true sense, the life of the people. It is many-sided. The following outline of state history represents several phases of development:

I. MISSOURI, The Center State.

1. Geography.

- (a) Location.
- (b) General surface features.
- (c) Rivers.
- (d) Mountains.
- (e) Climate.

2. Industries.

- (a) Farming.
- (b) Mining.
- (c) Dairy and poultry farming.
- (d) Manufacturing.
- (e) Other industries.

3. Transportation.

- (a) Railroads.
- (b) Highways.
- (c) Waterways.

II. HISTORICAL.

1. The first inhabitants.

- (a) Who they were.
- (b) How they lived.

2. Early settlements and explorations.

- (a) Explorers—DeSoto, Marquette and Joliet, LaSalle.
- (b) The first settlement—date—place—by whom settled.
- (c) Other settlements.

3. Pioneer Life.

- (a) The homes—how they were furnished.
- (b) Schools.
- (c) Churches.
- (d) Social life.

4. French and Spanish Periods.

- (a) Dates and important events.
- (b) Louisiana Purchase—1803.

5. Missouri's Admission as a State.

- (a) The struggle for admission.
- (b) Results.

- (c) Date of admission.
 - (d) Election of state officers.
 - 6. A Period of Social and Industrial Progress.
 - 7. The Civil War.
 - (a) Kansas Border Troubles.
 - (b) Struggle between the North and South for Missouri.
 - (c) Battle of Wilson's Creek.
 - (d) The North wins struggle for Missouri.
 - (e) Order Number 11.
 - (f) Close of the War.
 - 8. A Period of Reconstruction.
 - 9. Missouri, A Modern State.
 - (a) The Missouri of today.
 - (b) The future of the State.
- III. MISSOURI'S HALL OF FAME.
- 1. Some noted Missourians.
 - (a) Thomas Hart Benton.
 - (b) Daniel Boone.
 - (c) A. Doniphan.
 - (d) Frank P. Blair.
 - (e) Mark Twain.
 - (f) Eugene Field.

It is well to connect dates and events. County history can be interwoven with state history, and state history can be interwoven to a great advantage with national history, and be made very interesting indeed.

The question comes up in the teacher's mind, how can I make history interesting? There are several ways: (1) By keeping a scrap-book, (2) An illustrated note-book, (3) Making posters, (4) Dramatizing various important incidents in history, etc.

What can be more interesting than the history of the great State of Missouri, The Center State? Who can but be thrilled while reading about the noble pioneers of the state? The pioneer settlers were a noble people, honest and God-fearing. They blazed the western trail of civilization and opened the

magic door of opportunity to the Golden West for generations to come. They have gone but they have left behind a greater monument than hands can build, the heritage which we enjoy. Look at modern Missouri! The great state should be the pride of every heart. It is the banner state of the nation. It is rich in historical material, which should be brought to light.

Teachers, citizens, it should be the star number on the daily program of every ambitious citizen to help advance the cause of state history.

PERSONALS

Shephard Barclay: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, November 3, 1847; died in St. Louis, Missouri, November 17, 1925. He was educated in the public schools of St. Louis, and attended St. Louis University. Following this he studied law at the University of Virginia, and from there went to Berlin and Paris for special study. He returned to St. Louis in 1872, and took up the practice of law and editorial writing for newspapers. He was active in reorganizing the National Guard in St. Louis, and was captain of the Lafayette Guards. In 1882 he was elected Circuit Judge, and in 1888 was elected to the State Supreme Court. In 1897 he was chosen by his associates as Chief Justice, and in that year the University of Missouri conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He resigned from the Supreme Bench a year before the end of his ten-year term and entered a law firm in St. Louis. In 1901 he was appointed as Judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals, but resigned in 1903, and thereafter continued in private practice. In 1922 he was one of the Democratic nominees for Circuit Judge.

Hugh H. Burnett: Born in Bevier, Missouri, July 24, 1884; died in Hale, Missouri, May 5, 1925. On December 1, 1923, Mr. Burnett bought the *Hustler-Leader* at Hale, and changed its name to the *Leader*. He continued as editor of this paper until the time of his death.

Joe Burnett: Born in Harrisburg, Virginia, January 8, 1847; died in New London, Missouri, October 12, 1925. In 1856 his family moved to Kentucky; following this they moved to

Iowa, and then in 1860 to Paris, Missouri. He began work in the office of the *Paris Mercury*, and thirteen years later bought an interest in this paper. He sold out in 1895, and bought the New London, *Ralls County Record*, of which he was editor until 1916. Mr. Burnett was the author of many articles on the history of Ralls county and Indians in Missouri.

J. R. Cook: Born in Dearborn county, Indiana, April 29, 1838; died in Adair county, Missouri, December 31, 1924. He began teaching school in 1857. He was captain of Home Guards at Shelby's Point, and on February 23, 1862, he enlisted in Company B, 11th Regiment of the Missouri Cavalry. He served as company quarter-master for three years, being discharged at St. Louis March 3, 1865. On November 8, 1870, Mr. Cook was elected Judge of the County Court of Adair county for a term of six years. In 1884 he was appointed postmaster at Prairie Bird.

Tom Curry: Born in Plymouth county, Iowa, October 27, 1856; died in Oregon, Missouri, November 18, 1925. He was but two years old when his family moved to Oregon. He attended the public schools of Oregon, and at the age of seventeen started work on the *Missouri Valley Times*. Later he worked on the *Holt County Press*, and then on the metropolitan papers for a short time. In 1883 he began work on the *Holt County Sentinel*, and was editor of this paper at the time of his death. From 1897 to 1907 he was postmaster of Oregon.

Joseph Singer Halstead: Born in Louisville, Kentucky, March 4, 1818; died in Breckenridge, Missouri, September 13, 1925. He was graduated from the medical department of Transylvania College in 1840, and began the practice of medicine in Kentucky. In 1841 he came to Missouri and settled in Richmond. After a short time he returned to Kentucky, and became Henry Clay's family physician. Again in 1861 Mr. Halstead returned to Missouri and brought his family and slaves. He was popularly known as the oldest Mason in the United States, as he had joined this order in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1842.

Thomas P. Montfort: Born in 1853; died November 15, 1925, in Kansas City, Missouri. He was founder of the Excelsior Springs *Advocate* in 1880, and was widely known as an author.

Robert J. Rombauer: Born in Hungary in 1830; died in St. Louis, Missouri, September 25, 1925. He was educated in a polytechnic school in Vienna, and served in the Hungarian army in the revolution of 1848-49. He came to the United States soon after this and moved to St. Louis in 1852. He was made a colonel in the First Missouri Reserves during the Civil War. He and his brother prepared preliminary surveys of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. Mr. Rombauer helped to organize the St. Louis Public Library and was at one time its president. He was editor of the *New World* until 1871 at which time it was discontinued. He was author of "The Union Cause in St. Louis," and wrote for several publications.

James M. Sliger: Born in Washington county, Tennessee, May 21, 1851; died in Rockport, Missouri, March 21, 1925. He was graduated from Stewartsville College. He served as county treasurer of Atchison county. In 1908 he was elected representative to the 45th General Assembly. Mr. Sliger was twice elected as mayor of Rockport.

Denton Jaques Snider: Born in Mount Gilead, Ohio, in 1841; died in Kirkwood, Missouri, November 25, 1925. He received the degree of A. B. at Oberlin College in 1862 and that of Hon. Litt. D. in 1899. After his graduation from school Dr. Snider enlisted in the Union Army and served for one year. In 1864 he came to St. Louis and began teaching history, languages, literature, and mathematics in Christian Brothers College. He taught here for three years and then for ten years in Central High School. In the 60s and 70s he was associated with William T. Harris and Henry C. Brockmeyer in the St. Louis Philosophical Movement. This was a cult based on the teachings of the German philosopher Hegel, and Dr. Snider was widely known as one of the few to master this philosophy. He was the author of over fifty volumes, and his works included

biography, history, literary commentaries, philosophy, psychology and travel. Especially well known among these are the commentaries on the works of Dante, Goethe, Homer, and Shakespeare, the biography of Emerson, and a book on the St. Louis Movement. Dr. Snider had produced more intellectual books than any other Missouri author, and was widely known among scholars and savants.

Edward R. Stettinius: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, February 15, 1865; died in Locust Valley, New York, September 3, 1925. He was educated in the schools of St. Louis and St. Louis University. He was made treasurer of the Diamond Match Company in 1908 and one year later became president of the company. In 1915 he was employed by J. P. Morgan to organize a department for the purchase of war munitions, food and materials for the British and French governments. His experience in this work gained for him a position with J. P. Morgan. When the United States entered the war Mr. Stettinius was appointed Surveyor-General of Supplies for the War Department. He was a member of the War Council and served as an assistant Secretary of War. In July, 1918, he represented the United States in the Inter-Allied Munitions Council in Paris.

Henry Jackson Waters: Born near Center, Missouri, November 23, 1865; died in Kansas City, Missouri, October 26, 1925. He was educated in the public schools of Ralls county and the University of Missouri. He was the first student in the agricultural school. Following his graduation he became successively, assistant secretary to the state board of agriculture for two years, an official at the Missouri State Experiment Station, and then professor of agriculture at the Pennsylvania State College in 1902. Later he served as an instructor in the graduate school of the University of Ohio. He then returned to the University of Missouri and became dean of the College of Agriculture. He obtained leave of absence and studied in Leipzig and Zurich. In 1906 he became an instructor at the University of Illinois. He was president of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture in 1908 and 1909. In the latter year he was made head of the Kansas State

Agricultural College and held this position until 1917, when he resigned to become editor of the *Weekly Kansas City Star*. During the war he served as federal food commissioner under Herbert Hoover. He was the author of several text books on agriculture.

W. W. Wood: Born in Johnson county, Missouri, May 1, 1850; died in Long Beach, California, July 31, 1925. He was a graduate of the University of Transylvania Law School at Lexington, Kentucky. He practiced his profession in Johnson county, Missouri, and held the offices of Public Administrator from 1875 to 1880, Prosecuting Attorney from 1883 to 1886, Circuit Judge of the 17th Missouri Circuit from 1893 to 1898. In 1901 he moved to Okmulgee, Oklahoma, and three years later was elected mayor of that city.

R. P. Woodbury: Born in Paris, France, in 1852; died in Kansas City, Missouri, October 16, 1925. He was educated in the schools of Norwalk, Connecticut, and at the age of twelve he was entered in Williston Seminary in Massachusetts. Following this he studied for one year each in Dresden and Geneva. He returned to the United States and took up newspaper work, and in 1875, he became the editor of the Warsaw, *Benton County Democrat* which he edited for one year. He returned to Amherst College and was graduated in 1878. Later he received the degree of bachelor in agriculture at the University of Massachusetts. Then he returned to Missouri and bought the *Osceola Sun* which he operated for a year and a half. In 1880 he moved to Kansas City and was connected with the market department of the *Kansas City Times*. In 1886 he became the secretary of the Kansas City Live Stock Exchange, and he held this position at the time of his death.

Archelaus M. Woodson: Born in Knox county, Kentucky, January 30, 1854; died in Kansas City, Missouri, November 15, 1925. He was educated in the public schools of Buchanan county, Missouri, Plattsburg College in Clinton and the St. Louis Law School. He was graduated from the latter institution in 1877. He practiced law in St. Joseph until December 18, 1890, when

he was appointed by Governor Francis to fill a vacancy on the circuit bench. He was re-elected in 1892 and 1898. In 1906 he was elected to the Supreme Court, and re-elected in 1916. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Charlie Stuart York: Born in Pinson, Tennessee, August 26, 1864; died at Hayti, Missouri, April 15, 1925. He moved to Missouri in 1895, and in 1898 he and his brother, William York, established the *Pemiscot Argus* at Hayti. In 1899 the paper was sold. Shortly after this he edited a paper in Bernie, Missouri. Then in 1899 he took charge of the Caruthersville, *Pemiscot Press*. Later he returned to Hayti and bought the *Pemiscot Argus*, and was editor of this until 1906. From 1906 to 1909 he again edited the *Pemiscot Press*. He became editorial writer for the Hayti *Herald* and occupied this position at the time of his death.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN
TEXTBOOKS

JOHN HARDEMAN

From the *Glasgow Missourian*, October 29, 1925.

John Hardeman, pioneer botanist and writer, who lived near Old Franklin, has become almost a legendary character in southern Howard county and in Boonville, on the other side of the Missouri river. One of the stories often heard was that this pioneer, the builder of the famous Hardeman garden near Old Franklin, had been a South Sea pirate and that the settlement of large numbers of Germans in Central Missouri was due largely to a book he wrote comparing the country adjacent to the river at Boonville to the River Rhine.

Miss Julia Dunnica, of Glasgow, Mo., a granddaughter of this pioneer, says most of these facts are untrue. John Hardeman was not German, but born in this country and of English descent, the granddaughter writes. He did not write a book in German, nor was he a legendary pirate. According to the granddaughter, Hardeman was a graduate of Princeton university, and in his day equally famous as a botanist as Luther Burbank is today. Hardeman's garden in southern Howard county was widely known, as were several books on the subject of horticulture.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN MISSOURI.

By ALEXANDER N. DE MENIL, in the *St. Louis Star*, November 3, 1925.

On the evidence of Moses Austin's pamphlet (76 pages or thereabout) entitled, "A Memorandum of a Journey from Virginia to Louisiana West of the Mississippi, 1796-7," Austin says that he obtains his information "From the most ancient of the inhabitants" that there was a "settlement" by the French at "La Riviere Despere" on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, six miles below the (present) town of St. Louis. And on the further evidence of Dr. Beck's "Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri" (1823), which states that the Jesuit fathers founded a town at the mouth of "Des Peres River," Louis Houck says that, "Although we have no direct evidence of the fact, it is highly probable that the first white settlement on the Mississippi, even before the foundation of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, was made on the west side of the Mississippi near the mouth of River des Peres." (Houck sometimes trips—he says that it is a "fact;" then later on, that it is "probable.")

On account of unhealthiness of the locality (probably malaria), the settlement was shortly abandoned by the Jesuit fathers and the Indians; they removed to a site on the Kaskaskia River, in Illinois, and the following year to the village of Kaskaskia, which according to the best accounts, was founded in 1700. Father Bergier, the priest of the Tamaraa village,

writes that "The Kats (Kaskaskians) have built thirty cabins" two leagues below "this Tamara village, on the other side of the Mississippi" (the name of Tamara was later changed to "Kaskaskia.") He further says that they have also built a fort, and "the French have hastened thither." This was written in 1701.

Further information can be found in the "Jesuit Relations," Father Gravier's journal of his trip from Chicago to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1700, Houck's history, Father Kenny's paper in the April, 1919, number of the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, and several other authorities. More than two centuries ago, historians noted the settlement on the Riviere des Peres. That this settlement existed temporarily in 1700, and that the spot on which it was located is now a portion of the territory of St. Louis, in no manner whatsoever affects the date of founding of St. Louis in 1764. Teach the truth of history.

SLAVERY IN MISSOURI IN 1860

From the *Odessa Democrat*, July 20, 1923.

In this age it seems almost incredible that negroes were once chattels in all sections of Missouri and that Lafayette and Jackson counties were the homes of many prosperous planters who owned slaves; however, the word "slave" was not used in those days, as most of the owners referred to the darkies as "our black folks;" in fact there was a time when not to be a slave owner was an evidence of poverty, or what was worse in the eyes of many people, an inclination toward the abolition idea.

In 1860 Lafayette county had 6,370 slaves and 909 slave owners, while Jackson county had 3,944 slaves, the property of 898 owners. In Lafayette county the average was a little more than seven to each owner, and in Jackson county the average was less than five to each owner, due to the fact of the existence of three fair-sized towns in which each family of any social standing had one or two negroes for household work.

In those days hemp was the principal product of Lafayette county. Hemp rope was used to tie cotton bales and it was always in demand. The late General Jo Shelby owned a rope yard in Waverly and much hemp was bought by him. It required good strong land to raise hemp and this county had that kind of land then and still has the same kind of soil. Little besides hemp was shipped and that was by steamboat. The farmers raised everything their families and negroes needed to eat and wear and the hemp crop brought ready money for taxes, luxuries, and to buy more slaves. In Jackson county the farming was more general and the negroes did practically every kind of work. In Jackson county there are now considerably more negroes than there were in the old days, but in Lafayette county the number is not so large as it was before the war between the states.

Howard was another of the large slave owning counties and Boone ranked high, as did Monroe, Callaway, Clay and Ray counties. Clay county did not have so many, as it was too easy for the abolitionists to

steal the darkies away from their owners and run them over the line into Kansas.

Sometimes men in politics refer to the river counties of Missouri as the stronghold of Democracy. The river counties were the homes of the slaves in the early days. Most of this section was settled by pioneers from Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, and they came to Missouri on steamboats and brought their darkies with them, hence the counties along the river became the center of the slave owning population, the Southern element that predominated politics in those days and is today, in many counties, a ruling influence. The counties along the Mississippi river above St. Louis had more slaves than those along the river south of St. Louis. They were settled earlier and were more prosperous. The counties along Missouri's two big rivers were settled first because they had the means of transportation. They also had the level, fertile, river valley lands where farming was profitable and the negroes could be worked to the best advantage; these counties are, with very few exceptions, strongly Democratic today.

The counties in Missouri in 1860 were the same as now, except St. Louis. [Worth county was organized in 1861]. Yet only one county in the state was without slaves. That was Douglas county, way down in the Ozark region, where even today the steam railroad has never penetrated. A Democrat in Douglas county is a curiosity even now.

The total number of slaves in Missouri in 1860 was 114,631. They represented an investment of several millions of dollars and when they were freed many men who had been rich before became poor

STATE'S TENTH IN CABINET

From the *Kansas City Times*, October 14, 1925.

Dwight F. Davis is the tenth Missourian to be chosen for a cabinet office.

No citizen of the commonwealth has served as secretary of state, navy or postmaster general, but Missourians have been placed in charge of nearly all of the other executive departments. Four have directed the work of the interior department: Carl Schurz, John W. Noble, David R. Francis and Ethan A. Hitchcock. The first head of the agricultural department was Norman J. Colman, a post that was to be held many years later by David F. Houston, of St. Louis. Edward Bates was attorney-general under Lincoln and Mr. Houston retired from the agricultural department, in the administration of Woodrow Wilson, to become secretary of the treasury. The other Missourians to hold cabinet places were Charles Nagle, secretary of commerce and labor, and Joshua W. Alexander, secretary of commerce after the department of labor had been created.

Mr. Davis thus has the distinction of being Missouri's first secretary of war.

EARLY HISTORY OF HARDIN COLLEGE

From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 19, 1925.

The Mexico Christian Female College was founded in 1858, under the auspices of the Christian Church, land for this institution being donated by Mrs. Belle Sparks and \$5,000 for a building being subscribed by a group of citizens. Due to the death of President Shelton and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the school was closed in that year, federal troops occupying its lone building as a barracks during the war.

In the spring of 1864 the college was reopened and was made co-educational, and remained so until Gov. Hardin purchased the seminary and ground for \$3,500 and, with an additional endowment of \$35,000, launched it as a school for young women. The first session of the school was held September 10, 1873, with fifty-five students in attendance. Since that date more than 5,000 young women have been enrolled in its classes, the student body this year numbering approximately 250. A limited enrollment is insisted upon, although a \$500,000 building program inaugurated in 1919 has provided increased accommodations. Hardin's endowment is now \$106,000, which includes an additional \$25,000 set aside in the will of Gov. Hardin.

AN INDIAN LEGEND

From the *Kansas City Star*, Oct. 18, 1925.

The Osage River, near its source in Western Missouri, is bordered by precipitous bluffs and now and then a limestone ledge. Near its upper course and bordering one of these rapids is Halley's Bluff, which Indian tradition tells us stands as a monument to old Chief No-horse, his beautiful daughter No-wa-tah and Chief Little No-Horse, the last of a long line of chiefs of the Osage tribe.

There is a legend that No-wa-tah, noted for her marvelous beauty far and wide, had refused all suitors, even the handsome Ha-te-hah, until her aged father, on his deathbed, called them both to him and, placing her hand in that of the young warrior, indicated he wished them to wed, which they did, and the old chief died.

A son, who was named Chief Little No-Horse, was born to the Indian maiden and her warrior husband, and his coming was celebrated as the birth of a new chief for the tribe. While Ha-te-hah had joined his warriors in a summer hunting and fishing expedition, No-wa-tah strolled down to the banks of the Osage, at the foot of Halley's Bluff, and left the baby chief snugly wrapped in furs on the grass beneath a spreading elm that shaded the grave of her father while she went in search for medicine plants and useful herbs. She failed to notice that Little No-Horse had kicked his furs from about him and was lying naked, cooing to the wavering branches and chirping birds, when suddenly a huge eagle swooped down on the helpless baby, fastened its talons in the child's flesh and carried him off, before the eyes of his frenzied mother. The bird disappeared in a hole high up

Halley's Bluff. The mother, unable to bear the anguish, plunged into the river and drowned.

Soon after the death of the infant chief and his mother the Osage tribe moved southward into what is now Jasper and Newton counties, where it claimed title to the land until 1825, when, by treaty with the federal government, it agreed to move into what is now Oklahoma. They remained in Southwest Missouri until driven out by state troops under orders from Governor Lilburn W. Boggs in what was known as the Osage War in 1837.

"I'M FROM MISSOURI"

From the *Springfield Leader*, July 4, 1925.

General Emmett Newton, of Missouri, claims the distinction of having invented the famous saying, "I'm from Missouri; show me." The general says it happened at Denver in 1892, when he was attending a Knight Templar convention with his dad. General Newton, then a boy, was collecting badges and when a man came up to him and said, "I've got a better collection of badges than you have, I'll bet," Newton says he replied: "I'm from Missouri, show me." It marked the birth of one of America's catchwords.

ON THE OLD SANTA FE TRAIL

From the *Lexington News*, December 4, 1919.

When we think of the Santa Fe Trail eighty or ninety years ago, in imagination we see the slow moving emigrant ox-wagons, the rugged and fearless pioneer walking in front with rifle in hand, and the no less heroic wife surrounded by her little ones, and with anxious face gazing from the covered wagon over the wild landscape; and we see the oldest boys driving the cows and with their ever-faithful dogs bringing up the rear.

We think of their courage and privations and hopes and fears as they wearily seek their homes in the western wilderness. As they camp for the night, we see the fire light up their faces, as they busy themselves preparing supper; and we hear the lonely hoot of the owl and the howl of the wolf as he prowls in the darkness about those who have dared to invade his haunts and "moiest his ancient solitary reign."

As we remember and admire these great and adventurous characters who helped form our state and nation, we must not forget those who passed over this same "Trail," who have also, but along different lines, been contributors to their country's greatness.

One evening about the year of 1832, two men on horseback stopped at a lodging house about nine miles west of Marshall, in Saline county, and asked to stay all night. The hospitable settler, the late Col. John M. Lewis, was glad to entertain them, especially as they appeared to be men of intelligence and refinement. In those days travelers were gladly kept all night and without charge, the host feeling himself amply paid by the news from the "regions beyond," as there were few mails or newspapers in those days. Supper over, the conversation of the travelers was so entertaining

that bedtime was postponed to a late hour. And as they seemed to seek as well as impart information, and discussed topics beyond his range, Col. Lewis said that as opportunity presented itself he chose a subject on which he could "hold his own," and he gave them a full description of the cultivation of the hemp crop, in which both became greatly interested.

The next morning as they took their departure, Col. Lewis told them he would ride with them a few miles to show them the road, The Santa Fe Trail. As he was about to take leave of them and return, his curiosity became great and he said, "Gentlemen, I have been so entertained by you, and have had much pleasure in meeting you that I would like very much to know who you are." One of them answered, "I am Washington Irving and this is my friend Col. Blank of the French Army." This information nearly took his breath away.

When he returned to where they had mounted their horses, he found on the ground a large silk handkerchief with the Frenchman's initials in the corner. They were on their way from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth to join an expedition westward. It was on this trip that Irving wrote his "Tour on the Prairies."

These facts the writer gets from Mr. Add C. Lewis of Kansas City, son of the Col. Lewis mentioned. The silk handkerchief Mr. Lewis' mother kept a long time, and one day, when he was a boy, she tied it around his neck when he was going to Waverly and he lost it. It would have been a valuable piece of drygoods today.—G. M. V.

MISSOURI SLAVE SUES FOR FREEDOM IN 1838.

From the Tuscumbia *Miller County Autogram*, July 3, 1924.

The first circuit court records of Miller county are replete with cases where slaves bring suit for freedom. The first, and one of the most interesting cases of this kind, was brought by Levina (Viney) against Gaddis E. Miller at the February term, 1838. At the same time her sister Anne brings suit in a separate case for freedom.

Levina was granted the privilege of suing as a poor person by Judge William Scott, her attorney being B. M. Lisle. The court also ordered that "the said Levina have reasonable liberty to attend her counsel and that she be not removed out of the jurisdiction of the said Circuit Court and that the said Levina be not subjected to any severity on account of her said application for freedom."

In her petition asking for freedom she states her case as follows: "Levina, a free woman of color, by her attorney, complains of Gaddis E. Miller of a plea of trespass for that the said defendant (Gladdis E. Miller) heretofore to-wit on the first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven at the County of Miller aforesaid, with force and arms assaulted the said plaintiff and then and there greatly beat, bruised and ill treated her. And then and there imprisoned the said plaintiff and held her in slavery and still holds her in slavery, without any probable or reasonable cause whatsoever and against the will

of the said plaintiff. And the said plaintiff in fact saith that before and at the time of the several grievances heretofore mentioned the said plaintiff was, and still is, a free person and that the defendant at the time and place aforesaid held and still holds her in slavery, and thereupon she brings suit."

On the day set for trial, she refusing to "enter into recognizance as the law directs," the sheriff, William N. Harrison, was ordered to take her in charge, and hire her out to best advantage during the pendency of the suit and to take a bond of \$1,000 from her hirer and that she be allowed to return to court at the time set for trial.

The suit was heard at the April term in 1839 and the following twelve men were selected as jurors: "Andrew McCaslin, Hugh Challes, Isaac Bass, Robert Gillespie, Aaron Roberts, John Brockman, Reuben Burnett, Madison H. Belshe, John Baughan, John Lumpkin, Cornelius P. Davidson, and Thomas McCubbins, all good and lawful men."

During the taking of the testimony evidence was introduced from the records of Cumberland county, Ky., from whence Levina and Anne came, to show that they were free persons. Their mother's name was Judith and they had one brother, Anderson.

Levina's claim for freedom was based on a court order which was dated July, 1819, and read as follows: "On the motion of John Degraffenreid and by and with the assent of the Court, Anderson, a negro boy aged about two years, Viney, a negro girl aged about two years, and Anne, a negro girl aged about five months, free-born children of Judith, a free woman of color, having been served with a summons, are bound unto the said John Degraffenreid, the boy until he attains the age of 21 and the girls until they attain the age of 18 each."

The jury in returning the verdict declared Levina a free person. "Therefore it is considered by the court that the said plaintiff Levina be liberated from the said defendant and all persons claiming under him by title derived after the commencement of this suit and that the said plaintiff recover her freedom and likewise her costs and charges by her about her suit expended and that she have execution therefor."

FIGHT BETWEEN MISSOURI AND SIOUX INDIANS

From the *Columbia Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1925.

The Missouris generally were peaceful and always on good terms with the French and other white settlers of the state. A few years after the founding of St. Louis, the tribe used the territory lying between St. Charles and the mouth of the Missouri river as a camping ground. At the time of their destruction they were encamped at a spot 20 miles above the mouth of the Missouri river, on the north bank, about 25 miles from St. Louis. The camp, situated on a plateau, overlooked the surrounding country for miles and afforded a central point for hunting excursions.

One balmy spring morning when the blue smoke curled gracefully toward the heavens from the campfires and the entire camp presented a scene of absolute peace and contentment, scouts brought word that a

party of hostile Sioux Indians were on their way down the Mississippi river plundering and robbing as they went.

The Missouris hastily called a council of war and voted to engage their foes in battle. Learning that the Sioux intended to beach their canoes at the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers and from there make raids, the Missouri warriors hid along the bank and planned to ambush the invaders.

But the Sioux were warned by their scouts, for they disembarked at a point several miles above the hiding place of the Missouri braves, and shouldering their light canoes, carried them across the three-mile neck of land that separates the two rivers and launched them again on the muddy waters of the Missouri. From here they proceeded upstream to the camp of the Missouris.

Seeing the canoes coming toward camp, the Missouri squaws and children first thought them their own returning warriors. They did not discover this error in time and the Sioux fell upon the defenseless camp with a vengeance that spared none.

Then the Sioux hastily embarked again and quietly floated down to the hiding place of the Missouris, who still were waiting for the invaders, unmindful of what they already had done. The Sioux led an open attack and a furious battle raged for hours. The invaders eventually obtained the upper hand and but few of the Missouris escaped—so few that they never again were regarded as a nation.

The spot where the Sioux disembarked was later named Portage des Sioux and the quaint little town at that point still bears that name. It was one of the early French settlements.

CARROLL COUNTY'S LOST CITIES

From the *Browning Leader-Record*, Mar. 6, 1919.

Carroll county, Missouri, lays claim to the distinction of having more "lost cities" than any other county in the state. More than a dozen towns have been platted there, have enjoyed a brief boom period and then passed into oblivion.

Probably the oldest of these abandoned towns is Bloomfield, started in 1818. It was at the forks of Wakenda Creek, but as all the residents became afflicted with chills and fever, they decided to depart and Bloomfield died.

Another town which had the advantage of a promising name was San Francisco, Mo., established about the same time as its Pacific Coast sister, but the lure of California gold depleted its population and the town disappeared.

Bailville was unique; it was platted with only six blocks. The plat was filed by J. Bailly Elder in 1856. Even the six blocks of Bailville are now no more.

Alderson, another of Carroll county's early-day towns, was located very near the Missouri river and was washed away before any permanent improvements could be made.

Among the other towns which had only a brief existence were Miles Point, Carroll City, intended for a steamboat landing place, Bridge Creek, Clione, Reedsburg, Battsville and Elderport.

Compton, Mo., is the sole survivor of the early-day town platting fad. It was established in 1860.

These towns were lost because they lived only for one purpose and with only one fixed idea. That one idea failing the towns withered and died. There may be a lesson there. It is not too late even now for such things to happen. Cities and towns must build for more than one purpose. They can't live because of one institution. There is always danger that the one institution may go, and with it the town.

KIT CARSON MAN OF WEALTH

From the *Kansas City Times*, October 31, 1925.

Pueblo, Colo., Oct. 30.—Kit Carson, noted Indian fighter, accumulated a fortune of \$13,000—a considerable sum for the West in the "sixties"—it was disclosed today when a photostatic copy of his last will and testament was forwarded from the county court here to the state historical society in Denver.

His property included two hundred head of cattle, seven yoke of oxen, a few horses, house and lot and several parcels of land around Taos, N. M. The will was drawn at Fort Lyons, Col., May 15, 1868, a few days before he died.

WHEN FRANK JAMES "WENT STRAIGHT"

From the *Palmyra Spectator*, July 15, 1925.

One day a quiet, soft-spoken fellow sought me out between the races while I was standing alone. "Mr. Hildreth," he said, "you're having a tough time getting a price against your horses. I know all about it. I'm a sheet writer for one of the books and I can see what is going on, and I think I can tell you a way to beat it."

He suggested that I let him be my betting commissioner. No one was to know anything about it. Every night he would come to my house and I was to tell him what horses I wanted to bet on next afternoon, and how much. I was to stay completely away from the betting inclosure, just as though I didn't want to get a penny down; and meanwhile he would go around quietly putting down a \$50 bill here and a \$100 bill there. Nobody would suspect that he was acting for me.

It sounded reasonable, so I made an agreement with him. He was particularly anxious that I should always know that he was playing perfectly square with me. Just before the horses went to the post for each race he would saunter past me at a certain spot—not always the same one. He wouldn't speak to me or even look at me, but I would get some signal

to know just how much money he had put down. Maybe it was his left hand stuck in his overcoat pocket, or his collar turned or a handkerchief sticking out of another pocket; whatever the signal was, I knew before the race approximately how much I stood to win or lose.

The runners of the bookies and the hangers-on, who were always trying to find out what I was doing, couldn't understand why I had suddenly stopped speculating.

"Are you going to grab this race, Mr. Hildreth?" they would ask, sidling up to me.

"You don't see me doing any betting, do you?" I'd reply.

For a year and a half we worked this system before anybody got wise to it. Every night my betting commissioner, sometimes with his wife, would come up to my house to make his accounting, dodging around trees and bushes in the dark country roads so nobody would see him. And to let me see that the accounts were straight right down to the last penny, he would bring the betting tickets with him. When I asked how he managed to get these from the bookmakers he said he knew most of the sheet writers and they would let him have them.

Scrupulous honesty—that's what they'd call it in business. So when I tell you who my betting commissioner was, just bear that in mind.

He was Frank James, of the famous James brothers, the most daring outlaws this country has ever known, brother of Jesse James. When Frank quit being a desperado he washed the slate clean. He was going straight as a string when I knew him, and there were plenty of chances for him to cheat me.

I remember once when the books opened Khaftan at 4 to 5, expecting me to come along and back him off the board. But when they didn't see my money, Khaftan's price went up to 5 and 5 to 1 and it was then that James went around the ring dropping small bets here and there that counted up to a good sized wager in the aggregate. It would have been easy enough for him to have told me that some of my money had gone down at the short price. That wasn't James' way. He brought the tickets along to show me what odds he had received. They were the top of the market.

You'd never have suspected Frank James of being one of the notorious brothers who held up trains and caused a reign of terror through the Middle West in the early days. He looked more like a country store-keeper or farmer. Sometimes we'd sit around after the day's business was done and he'd open up his heart and tell me about his past.

I asked how it happened that he and his brother Jesse had ever turned to banditting. He told me it was because they had been embittered by the crimes the civil war outlaws had committed against his family. One of his family—I believe it was his mother—had been shot and terribly wounded by one of these cutthroats who fought for neither side and preyed on both. When this happened he and Jesse pledged themselves to get even with the world.

While the police of the entire country were looking for Frank James he was racing a small string of his own horses at Nashville, Tenn., under

another name. He told me that George Rice was training for him at the time and that nobody had the slightest suspicion who he was. He liked the excitement of being hunted, and he especially liked the way he could parade around in the open, right under the eyes of those who were looking for him.

One day he rode in a race that called for the horses to be ridden by gentlemen jockeys. He won. And among those who cheered him and his horse as they crossed the finish line were undoubtedly some of the very people who had descriptions of him in their pockets and were trying to land him in prison.

The longing to get back to his own identity and mingle again with his friends as a free man was the thing that finally caused him to surrender. He used to tell me how he wrote the governor of Missouri and asked for some assurance he would receive a fair trial if he gave himself up. The governor replied that he would be treated fairly.

